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Foto Cami Speaks at Session on Perestroyka

AU2103165689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

["From" the speech by Foto Cami, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at the 16 March Tirana scientific session on perestroyka]

[Text] In his speech, Comrade Foto Cami stressed that our party has waged a consistent and principled struggle against modern revisionism, and particularly against Soviet revisionism, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, represents the most complete theory and practice of the revisionist counterrevolution and its most dangerous variant. This struggle will continue as long as capitalism and imperialism exist, a part of which is represented by revisionism, this dangerous enemy of the revolution and socialism. "Therefore, the struggle of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] against modern revisionism and all its variants has been and remains a struggle of historical importance," as Comrade Ramiz stressed at the Ninth AWP Congress.

On this front, we are currently dealing with a new situation, which presents new problems and tasks.

After stressing the transformations that have occurred in the world in favor of socialism after World War II, Comrade Foto Cami stressed that the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism, followed by the Eurocommunist and Chinese variants, the revolutionary process was interrupted. The revisionist counterrevolution, which was a result of the bourgeois pressure from within and the pressure of imperialism from outside, caused considerable confusion in the communist and liberation movement. The bourgeoisie and imperialism achieved their first victory and began to change the balance of power to their own profit. The great polemic with the modern revisionists, to which our party, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, made a contribution that will remain indelible in history, compelled the revisionists to try to preserve the Marxist and socialist image, in order not to disclose their counterrevolutionary nature.

The situation has now evolved to a further point. The revisionists have torn away their masks and have come out openly with the capitalist platform. They have not only relinquished their revolutionary and emancipatory ideals, but have launched an all-out attack against Marxism, the revolution, and socialism. Soviet revisionism, now embodied in Gorbachev's course of "perestroyka," "glasnost," and the "new political thinking," remains as before in the vanguard of this great anti-communist campaign. Gorbachev's policy represents a new stage in the development of modern revisionism and the escalation of its attack against everything that has been attained by the international communist and revolutionary movement. This new stage is characterized by the complete denial of the socialist base and its superstructure, the class interests of the proletariat, and the aspirations of the peoples for freedom and independence. In fact, it is characterized by a denial of the Marxist-Leninist theory itself, as well as by a direct shift toward social democratic, bourgeois, and even anti-communist positions.

The bourgeoisie and imperialism have never before been able to so savagely slander and to attack the October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, as Gorbachev and his propagandists are now doing.

The Soviet media is now openly saying that the evils for which Stalin is blamed are rooted in the very concept of socialism, as elaborated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism; that Stalin has only implemented the projects of socialism worked out by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Efforts are therefore being made to trace where and in what way they were mistaken, "so as to throw out all concepts of socialism which have supposedly checked development for a long time."

What ideas and theses of Marxism-Leninism concerning socialism are we talking about? The idea concerning the vanguard and revolutionary role of the workers class, that is, the role of the Communist Party, is rejected, and political and ideological pluralism is now being preached, and the way is being paved for the creation of new parties.

The basic Marxist concept of socialism as a system based on the social ownership of the means of production and the planned management of the economy is being rejected, and the way is being opened to private capitalism, the market economy, competition, the free play of prices, foreign capital investments, and joint companies.

The cooperative system of agriculture is being swept away and the private peasant economy is being propped up. One of the great achievements of socialism is thus being trampled underfoot, blaming the failures of agriculture not on the revisionist system, but on the cooperative system, which has proved its indisputable superiority in practice.

The idea is being advanced that the imperative of the struggle against bourgeois culture must be abandoned. On this basis, the gates have been thrown open to the penetration of decadent art, to all forms of debased literature and music, to all kinds of ugly manifestations in the movies, the theater, and television, which poison the consciousness and world outlook of people.

All this shows clearly that the Gorbachev revisionists have undertaken a general onslaught against all the basic principles lying at the foundations of the socialist system and that distinguish it from the bourgeois system. They have in fact proclaimed that Marxism and socialism have failed, and that the only way out is to adopt other

ideologies, to return to the capitalist road, or at least to some middle road toward a hybrid system which would include the best aspects of both socialism and capitalism.

It is our duty to expose and to reject this entire anti-socialist campaign. As a socialist country, we are required to prove, not only theoretically, but also in our daily practice, that the socialist order is the only order with a future, the only order capable of providing an answer to all the challenges of the time; to secure progress in all fields of life; to guarantee genuine freedom and democracy, the rights of working people, and the comprehensive development of their personality; and to resolve all problems raised by life in its dialectical development. This constitutes today a duty of great responsibility and of great national and international importance.

In our country, too, Comrade Foto Cami went on to say, we are encountering various problems and difficulties in the process of socialist construction. However, these are of a different nature. They are not a product of the party line or of our social system. Speaking about resolving the problems, he pointed out that the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum, has given us an inspiring example, with the concrete measures adopted to perfect remuneration in agricultural cooperatives, to increase their planning rights and their initiative, to consolidate state-cooperative relations, and to better harmonize the interests of individuals, the group, and society as a whole, and so forth. All this is being done within the framework of the cooperative system and serves to consolidate it, as well as to increase production, and raises the well-being of the peasantry.

Changes and improvements are also needed in other fields, but there is frequently hesitation in presenting ideas, proposals, and suggestions. One factor that exerts its influence in this, one factor that acts as a brake in this, is also the clamorous campaign of reforms carried out by the present-day revisionists. The evil does not lie in the reforms or changes in themselves. We are also in favor of changes, since we claim to be dialectic and say that we are not dogmatic or metaphysical. The question lies in the nature of these reforms. Who carries out these changes? Where do they lead? Whom do they serve?

We must confront and resolve the problems raised by life, by our practice, because this is the only way to promote socialist construction and to defend socialism against the onslaught of the revisionists, to prove its vitality and superiority. To ignore these problems, on the other hand, means to put a brake on development, to weaken and make more difficult the task of unmasking the anti-communist campaign of the bourgeoisie and of the revisionists.

Behind these attractive slogans, doubts are being cast upon everything and everything is being rejected. Marxism is considered outdated, the revolution overcome, the class struggle invalid, and socialism without prospects. All social, economic, political, and ideological contradictions and antagonisms are being concealed, as well as all the intentions of the revisionists. There is talk about a new thinking, universal for all mankind, as well as about a single and integrated world, about a convergence and merger of socialism and capitalism. The values of the capitalist system of the market economy, of the capitalist forms of organization and management, and of bourgeois democracy are being extolled to the skies, while the principles, historic experience, and the achievements of socialism are being furiously attacked. All the ideals, aspirations, and just struggles of the peoples for freedom and independence, for justice and social progress, are being relinquished in the name of some universal problems. The general motto is that we should all unite and embrace, bourgeois and proletarians, communists and capitalists, the oppressed peoples and the imperialists, in order to build a new life which would secure peace and prosperity for everyone.

This worldwide campaign means destruction for the revolutionary and liberation movements, for the destinies of socialism and communism. This campaign is creating great confusion, is darkening the prospects of the revolution, and is presenting the socialist alternative as being without hope and a future.

From this viewpoint, Comrade Foto Cami went on to say, our criticism of revisionism must be contemporary and confront contemporary problems with new arguments. The considerable experience gained in the struggle against revisionism, which has found its comprehensive embodiment in Comrade Enver Hoxha's works and in numerous documents and materials of our party, should serve as a compass and a methodological base, and not as a mechanical transplantation of the problems and arguments of those days in the current polemics.

After speaking about the way in which the struggle against Gorbachev's theories must be waged, he pointed out that, as was stressed a long time ago by the party and Comrade Enver, the struggle against revisionism and opportunism can only be waged successfully from sound Marxist-Leninist positions. Revisionism cannot be opposed from rigid and dogmatic positions, in the same way that dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be opposed from liberal and opportunistic positions. This principled thesis is of great practical importance. In the struggle to defend our principles against the distortions and rejections of the revisionists, there is always the danger of turning into principles matters that are not such, the danger of politicizing everything, the danger of becoming a slave to some concepts and to oppose all changes out of fear of echoing the theses or practices of the revisionists. This would atrophy thinking and would put a brake on progress. We must be dialectic and creative and must wage the struggle against modern revisionism from these positions.

On the other hand, under the guise of the struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism, the modern revisionists are striving to disseminate the spirit of liberalism, to

reject principles, and to de-ideologize and de-politicize everything, to wipe out class demarcations and differences between systems, and to deny revolutionary ideals. From this viewpoint, we must be both principled and vigilant, and we must struggle against all alien manifestations and mistaken concepts, always through a democratic, free, and comradely discussion and debate, this being the only correct way to find the truth within our own ranks. Let us never think that our people are immune to the influence of the anti-communist campaign of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. This represents considerable ideological pressure, against which we can defend ourselves only by being always on the offensive.

It is from this Marxist and dialectical concept that we must consider all problems, manifestations, and processes that emerge within and outside of our country.

He also spoke about some changes in the international situation and pointed out that in conformity with these changes, new developments are also taking place in the foreign policy of our party and state. Our diplomatic relations have expanded, visits and exchanges with other countries have increased, our country is participating in numerous international activities, exchanges, and forms of economic cooperation with various countries are being expanded, and so forth. It is our duty to correctly explain these new developments, to show the correctness and consistency of our party's line, and not to permit any misunderstanding or distorted interpretation in the spirit of bourgeois propaganda, as if we are supposedly changing our stands, as if we are supposedly opening up or approaching the West or the East.

Nothing has changed and nothing will change concerning the principled positions of our party and state. Everything is being done solely in the country's interest, in the interest of strengthening the country's freedom and independence, and in the interest of strengthening the international position of Albania, of securing peaceful conditions for the country's socialist construction, for the benefit of the development of the economy, culture, technology, and science, and to raise the role, prestige, and good name of our country in the world.

Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed that "our party line has never been the line of withdrawing within our shell, or within an ivory tower, and our party line will never be this." However, the extension of our relations and contacts with the world increases the foreign ideological pressure, in one form or another. This may create mistaken illusions and vigilance may be weakened. It is the duty of the party's propaganda to eliminate all possibilities of underrating these consequences, as well as any idea that it is necessary to sever all contacts with others in order to escape these dangers, forgetting that in this way the dangers that would confront the country and socialism would be even greater.

It is therefore necessary to increase our efforts to carry out even more profound analyses, for a more qualitative effort, with strong logic and persuasive arguments. This requires greater efforts, and we should think more deeply. This requires an active and creative stand. However, many writings on this subject suffer from superficiality, an outmoded spirit, a lack of profound analyses, a failure to really come to terms with contemporary problems and to tackle them adequately. There are a lot of words and too little thinking, ideas, and theses; there are too many slogans and epithets, and fewer arguments. Such weaknesses were also observed in some of the reports and papers presented at this scientific session.

In conclusion, Comrade Foto Cami said: The range of problems in the struggle against revisionism is very broad. The Gorbachev perestroyka has now encompassed all political and economic fields, philosophy, history, culture, science, the party's life and its role, questions pertaining to the state and to the law, as well as national and international questions. Our duty is to speak our mind in all these matters in order to expose and reject the revisionist deceit. In this direction, our institutes of study, university sections, the media, scholars, those working on the ideological front, and others, are confronted with important duties.

Carcani, Cami Visit Berat, Skrapar Districts

AU1903150689 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Tirana, March 19 (ATA)—In the enthusiastic atmosphere of the jubilee year of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution and the great impetus at work created by the election campaign for the People's Councils and People's Courts and the convening of the 6th Congress of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania], the people of the Districts of Skrapar and Berat welcomed with love the former partisans of the 7th Shock Brigade created 45 years ago.

Thousands of inhabitants, workers of the economic enterprises working people of institutions, veterans, militarymen, young men and women and Enver's Pioneers gathered in the main square of the city of Berat, where a people's rally was organized. Comrade Adil Carcani, former vice commissar of this brigade, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] and chairman of the Council of Ministers greeted. He brought those present the cordial greetings of Comrade Ramiz Alia.

After wishing a happy celebration of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the brigade, Comrade Adil Carcani pointed out the great struggle of the people and party, led with bravery, wisdom and farsightedness by the strategist of the Antifascist National Liberation War and architect of the new Albania, the unforgettable

leader Comrade Enver Hoxha. He spoke of the contribution of the people of the District of Berat to this struggle, and the successes scored over the years of the people's power.

Then, the former partisans of the 7th Shock Brigade went to the District of Skrapar where they were welcomed warmly by the people of this district. Present were also the former cadre of this brigade, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Foto Cami, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and minister of people's defence, Comrade Prokop Murra, and other comrades.

On this occasion, another popular rally was organized. Those present were greeted by Comrade Foto Cami who said among others: "We recall today the days when 45 years ago the brave and patriotic people of Skrapar welcomed with love and hospitality the brave partisans. The party, the partisans and the people of Skrapar were as a single body. Its sons were the first to rank in the 7th Shock Brigade and other partisan formations. The party rejoices when it notices that the patriotic traditions are carried forward and Skrapar, like all Albania, like in the war and today in the socialist construction, is closely linked with the party and works resolutely for the construction of the happy socialist life."

Comrades Adil Carcani, Foto Cami and Prokop Murra paid visits to martyrs' families in the Districts of Berat and Skrapar.

On March 18 in the evening, the amateur artistic groups of Skrapar District gave a concert on occasion of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the 7th Shock Brigade.

Murra, Carcani Speak in Skrapar

AU2003122989 Tirana ATA in English
0739 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—In the context of the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the 7th Shock Brigade, a rally was organized in the town of Corovode, Skrapar District, on March 19, which was attended by Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Foto Cami, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA; Comrade Prokop Murra, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and minister of people's defence, and other comrades.

Those present enthusiastically welcomed Comrade Ramiz Alia's address to the former partisans of the 7th Shock Brigade on occasion of the 45th anniversary of its creation, read out by Comrade Foto Cami.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers, and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Prokop Murra greeted those present.

This brigade, he said among the other things, just as all the other partisan formations, was created and led in all its glorious battles by the party and our legendary and unforgettable commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

It is a great pleasure for all of us, particularly the partisans, veterans and martyrs' families, Comrade Prokop Murra continued further on, when seeing that the ideals they fought for and shed blood lie in the foundations of the new Albania, are always elevated by the party and are nourished from generation to generation.

Many devoted cadres and Communists, brave vanguard fighters, tested in the military political organization and leadership of huge partisan formations, militated in the fold of your brigade, Comrade Prokop Murra underscored. Amongst them was Comrade Ramiz Alia, who having not completed 20 years old, became member of the political section of the brigade and after some time political commissar of the 5th Shock Division; Comrade Adil Carcani, former deputy commissar of the brigade and later on political commissar of the 4th Division; Comrade Foto Cami, and other comrades.

Dwelling on the militant road of this brigade, he said that the 7th Shock Brigade, on the order of the general commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, incorporated in the 6th Shock Division, pursued the enemies beyond the borders of the homeland. It waged bloody clashes against the Nazis in the cities and villages of Bosnia and Montenegro, where it displayed courage and bravery, devotion and the lofty internationalist spirit the party had educated the partisans and the Albanian people with.

Further on, he pointed to the colossal socioeconomic transformations that have taken place over these 45 years in our country.

The former partisans and other guests in this festivity passed a joyful dinner, where Comrade Adil Carcani greeted. He said among the other things:

It is a brilliant tradition of our people the celebration of the important events of the Antifascist National Liberation War commemorating these events, the people honour the partisan heroism and bravery, expresses the boundless love and respect towards our glorious party and its unforgettable leader, the legendary commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the determination to carry ahead the cause of the revolution and the socialist construction.

Albania our dear homeland firmly stands on its feet, has a clear perspective and a reliable future. The unity of the people round the party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head is steel-like.

Soviet Representative Comments on Shortcomings

AU2103135389 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 18 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Yuriy Ilin, deputy trade representative of the Soviet Union in Bulgaria: "Landmarks of the Year"]

[Text] I would define 1989 as a year of decisive importance for the fulfillment of the current 5-year plan and for the cooperation of Bulgarian and Soviet leading officials and specialists, as well as for the working people engaged in the priority branches of the Bulgarian economy. The total assessment of the achievements in fulfilling the 5-year plan will depend upon the dynamic development and the results of the work achieved in 1989.

Our cooperation today is based on priority projects in the sector of power supply and metallurgical industry, in the multifaceted complex of chemical productions—beginning with the petrochemical branch and ending with the output of mineral fertilizers and mass consumer goods. Our cooperation has extended to the building industry, to the production of construction materials, and the building of large projects, such as the Sofia subway. In the agro-industrial complex, a modern technical base for the repair of high-powered agricultural technical equipment, for the mechanization of animal farms, and for the construction of hoisting equipment is being established with Soviet assistance. Even if we should add cooperation in the sector of communications and television, as well as joint geological oil and gas prospecting work, including the activities on the Black Sea continental shelf, we could still not convey a full picture of the main projects and spheres of our cooperation. It is our duty to mobilize the entire technical and manpower potential, so that the priority projects envisaged by the 5-year plan can be commissioned without any unnecessary preconditions and delays.

Nevertheless, we should point out that not everything is proceeding according to our intentions. The construction of the second power unit at the Kozloduy nuclear power station—the one we called the "million unit"—is lagging. This is primarily because of delays in delivering parts for complete installations from the Soviet Union. We not only appealed to 3 Soviet ministers, but also to the collectives of the enterprises which are lagging behind in the production of equipment for this most important project of the Bulgarian power industry. We expect the ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME journalists to ask their Soviet colleagues of the daily SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA to investigate why this important task is being postponed and who is responsible for this, as well as to accelerate its solution.

The progress in the construction of the Sofia subway is a cause of great concern. Only 80 percent of the plan for this exceptionally important project was fulfilled in 1988, while double the amount of construction and fitting work (worth 90 million leva!) is expected to be accomplished in 1989! The situation at the beginning of 1989 indicates that the Sofia subway builders are not yet ready for such accelerated rates, likely to guarantee the operation of the first stage of the subway as early as 1990.

What we said about the subway fully applies to other projects. All technical prerequisites exist for the modernization of the Kremikovtsi metallurgical combine to make the work of the combine economically efficient and ecologically pure (at least to a certain extent)!

However, we cannot tolerate that construction of certain projects which are of relatively small size, but of utmost importance for the national economy, such as the "Trakiya" electric power station, for example, to be unjustifiably delayed (the construction of the Pazardzhik power station has been going on for as long as 6 years). It would be sensible to devote the greatest attention to the projects about to be commissioned in 1989 and 1990. This will be a reliable guarantee for obtaining economic effectiveness from the integrational cooperation, so that we may successfully fulfill the agreement signed between our two countries for the 1986-1990 period.

The future prospects of cooperation during the forthcoming 5-year plan period have to be developed from now on. The main prerequisites for this is the analysis of the contemporary scientific-technical and technological solutions on which we should focus our attention. Naturally, attention will concentrate upon an effective, economic utilization of already existing installations, upon an accelerated growth of labor productivity, and an efficient use of manpower resources. At the same time, the technical modernization of existing enterprises on the basis of updated technologies and the strictest ecological protection measures is required.

We will concentrate considerable material and financial resources upon joint construction activities—both on Bulgarian and Soviet territories. The number of joint projects in the field of medical services, health protection, and preventive medicine will greatly increase. Bulgaria's excellent environmental conditions should be placed at the service of man, and the industrial development should by no means disturb the development of the ecological balance. I would like to point out the attention that we should devote to small-size agricultural equipment which is required for the optimal mechanization of this vitally important branch under the conditions of the land-lease and piecework system.

There is no doubt that our cooperation, which is essentially aimed at the future and at progress, will contribute to more fully satisfying our two peoples' needs and to the increase of our joint production, as well as to the improvement of its quality.

Stanishev Meets Visiting SWAPO Delegation
AU2003115389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, received Kaveke Katamila, member of the Politburo of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO], who is visiting our country.

Comrade Dimitur Stanishev confirmed the support of the BCP for the struggle being waged by SWAPO for the liberation of Namibia.

On behalf of the SWAPO leadership, the guest expressed gratitude to our party and to the Bulgarian people for their international assistance.

Readiness was expressed for the further expansion of relations between the BCP and SWAPO, which could be raised to a higher level under the new conditions that are expected to be established in Namibia after it has become an independent and sovereign state.

Army Party Aktiv Discusses Restructuring
AU1703181089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] A meeting of the all-Army party aktiv was held in Sofia today, with the participation of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense; Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the Social and National Security Department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; and deputy ministers of national defense.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov made a report on further accelerating restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Army. In their speeches, the participants in the meeting examined topical issues connected with implementing in practice the party policy for restructuring and renewal in the Bulgarian People's Army.

Government Discusses Kremikovtsi Ecology Issue
AU2103193889 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 21 Mar 89

["For Improvement of the Ecological Situation"]

[Text] Sofia, March 21 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers discussed the state of the environment in the region of the metallurgical combined works "Kremikovtsi" (close to Sofia) and certain urgent measures for improvement of the ecological situation.

The announcement on the meeting informs that a purifying station for industrial waters, electro-filters for purifying of the gases and other equipment have been put into operation but in spite of that there are a number of problems which lead to unfavourable consequences.

For the resolution of these problems and for improvement of the state of the environment in the region of the combined works and in the capital, in implementation of the decision of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] for radical restructuring of the environment preservation activity and the carrying out of new ecological policy, the Council of Ministers endorsed important measures for elimination of the most polluting factors.

As from June 1, this year, the Kremikovtsi thermo-electric power plant will start working on natural gas, which will be of exceptional importance for the conservation of the environment.

The production of manganese ferro alloys will be stopped till September 30, while the filters of the ferro alloy plant are being reconstructed. That will provide the absorption and purification of the emitted gases in compliance with the admissible level of concentrations, and the utilization of the powders. Along with that it is envisaged to work out a programme for the shifting of the entire ferro alloy production of the combined works.

Funds have been provided for the construction of a number of equipments related to the ecology situation like electrofilters, repair and restructuring of the water reserves and the chemical workshops of the combine, some new technologies will be transferred like waste free technology for processing of metallurgical slag, installations for dehydration of middling slime.

The Executive Committee of the Municipal Council of the capital and the Ministry of Economy and Planning were assigned the task to adopt a programme by September 30 this year for the stopping or shifting to other places of all productions which are not directly related to the basic function of the combine.

In order to resolve completely the problem of the preservation of the environment in the region of the combine and in the capital the government endorsed measures for the development of a programme for restructuring, technological innovation and ecologization of the production and recommended to the management of the Kremikovtsi metallurgical combined works to provide an optimized work regime of the purifying equipments, and to stop the respective productions if the work of the equipments deteriorates.

It was decided, by using modern techno-scientific achievements in this sphere, to purify to the maximum degree the air basin in the region of Sofia.

Editorial Praises Intellectual Congresses
AU2103152089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Mar 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Congresses of Renewal"]

[Text] These "midnight congresses," as they have already been nicknamed—and appropriately so, will be remembered as remarkable events in the history of our

intellectual life. We will remember them for the breathless eagerness with which they tried to overcome the obstacles and barriers along the path toward restructuring and purification. We will remember them for the ardent outbursts of unshakable support for the cause of socialism and renewal. And we will remember them for the great concern they showed for the fate of Bulgarian intellectual life. It has only been a few weeks since the meeting between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo and representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, and the discussions in the congress halls can be described as a natural continuation of the discussion that started with the fundamental report read by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the creative development and future of Bulgarian culture.

No one would dispute the fact that the congresses of our scientific, scientific-technical, and artistic intelligentsia proceeded in a wholly democratic spirit. Virtually all those who expressed the wish to participate in the discussions had an opportunity to take the floor. Some of the debates continued into the night and ended after midnight or even at dawn. We have every grounds for saying that our entire Bulgarian intelligentsia participated in the discussions on restructuring our intellectual culture. In this respect, the scope of the congresses can truly be termed comprehensive and universal. The congresses turned into an impressive demonstration of democracy, glasnost, and socialist pluralism. They provided a real incentive for the civic and political activities of the creative artists and for all those working in our cultural sphere. Obstacles that impede the development of intellectual restructuring and carry the mark of the conservative trends of the past were subjected to criticism at the congresses.

The discussions, which were characterized by their profound civic involvement, were not marked by indifference or bureaucratic complacency, by hypocrisy, or by a discrepancy between word and deed. Naturally, there were cases when a certain lack of restraint, intolerance toward other people's views and even some rude remarks, as well as efforts to impose one's personal opinion as universally valid and compulsory for everyone were manifested during the debates. Some unsuccessful attempts were also made to divert the delegates' attention from the great processes of social life and to concentrate on isolated, private cases as well as problems. All this is a characteristic feature of the epoch in which we live—this is an era of great changes, a turning point, in which we are obliged to reject many of the outdated and obsolete patterns of social behavior. Among the shortcomings of the discussions was the fact that many statements were devoted mainly to the past rather than to the present and future, and the fact that the justified rejection of practices that had already been dismissed by the party was not accompanied, to the same extent, by specific proposals on constructive work awaiting precisely for the intellectuals, creative workers, and cultural figures.

Having started with friendly and open-minded discussions in Boyana, at the foot of the Vitosha mountain, and transferred to the heated atmosphere of the congress halls, the debates were a vivid expression of the party's confidence in the people's intelligentsia, in its loyalty to the party and people, in the filial devotion and patriotism of our intellectuals. Our entire party leadership attended the congressional debates. This was a sign of the new era as well, demonstrating that our party and its political staff are today deeply involved in the problems and concerns of each stratum of our society. The Bulgarian intelligentsia responded to the lofty confidence of the party by expressing its faith in and devotion to the innovative cause of the BCP.

At this crucial turning point in our history, the party's appeal is even more unmistakable than ever: Only we can resolve our own problems and difficulties, only we ourselves, each one individually and all of us together. No one else can do this for us and replace us in this difficult, but inspiring mission.

All members of the the Bulgarian scientific, scientific-technical, and artistic intelligentsia are already aware of the high evaluation expressed by the BCP Central Committee Politburo at the congresses of the creative unions, describing these congresses as an important stage along the path of intellectual restructuring. There can be no doubt that today the decisive requirement is to accelerate the development of the entire concept on the development of the intellectual sphere and to transfer it to wherever people live, work, and show their talents in order to create new cultural values and intensify cooperation with creative artists and cultural institutions abroad, above all, with the Soviet scientific, scientific-technical, and artistic intelligentsia.

Our era is worthy of our aspirations. The creative artists and intellectuals of our cultural sphere are worthy of this era.

Further Report on Havel's Sentence Reduction

LD2103172589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] An appeal procedure was held at Prague city court today in the case of the accused, Vaclav Havel. He was found guilty by the Prague-3 Municipal District Court on 21 February of having committed the criminal offense of sedition, in accordance with paragraph 164 of the criminal code, and of having committed the criminal offense of obstructing a public official in the execution of his duties, in accordance with paragraph 156a of the criminal code. He was sentenced for the aforementioned criminal offenses to a total unconditional sentence of deprivation of freedom for 9 months, to be served in the second corrective educational group. The prosecutor, the accused, his wife, and his brother all appealed against the sentence.

After the hearing the city court rescinded the given verdict in accordance with paragraph 258, Section 1B and Section 2 of the criminal code, in the case where he was found guilty of having committed the criminal offense of obstructing a public official in the execution of his duties, in accordance with paragraph 156a of the criminal code and the infliction of the punishment.

The accused, Vaclav Havel, was found guilty of taking part in an unauthorized assembly of persons that breached public order in Wenceslas Square in Prague-1 in the area around St Wenceslas' Statue on 16 January. He was sentenced for committing an offense against public order. The criminal charge of sedition was not affected by the rescindment of the total unconditional sentence of 8 months' deprivation of freedom. For the execution of his sentence he was placed into the first corrective educational group. The sentence has acquired the force of law.

The public hearing was attended by Czechoslovak and foreign journalists, representatives of the Czechoslovak Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, and the International Helsinki Conference for Human Rights.

Length of Demonstrators' Sentences Clarified

AU2103133789 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 15 Mar 89 p 3

["(VP)"-signed report: "Justly"]

[Text] Prague—Western propaganda is still constantly devoting considerable attention to the courtroom sequels of the antisocial events of this January in Prague-1 in Wenceslas Square. In order to obviate the propagation of "reliable" reports of stiff sentences, we inquired directly at the municipal court in Prague. In connection with the aforementioned disturbances, besides the already convicted Vaclav Havel, 52 persons altogether were brought before criminal tribunals of judges at Prague municipal district courts. D. Nemcova, who is recuperating after an operation, still has not been tried. Thirty-three persons were tried for minor offenses and the remainder for criminal acts. Unconditional sentences, except in the case of Vaclav Havel, were handed down in only three instances. These all involved persons who have already been formerly convicted.

All of the sentences that have now been handed down were in the middle range of the maximum sentences permitted. Sixteen persons were given conditional sentences, and four were given a corrective remedy (deductions from their wages). Furthermore, 21 fines were handed down and three cases were transferred to municipal district national committees for expediting them. In one case criminal proceedings were halted and one of the accused was acquitted.

Jakes Chairs Presidium Session on Health Care

LD2103001689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Today the Federal Assembly Presidium discussed in Prague the report on the fulfillment of the tasks aiming at a basic improvement in the work with people's health and the development of health care in Czechoslovakia. The session was chaired by Comrade Alois Indra. Comrade Milos Jakes was present at the session.

Those present noted that there are current serious problems with the population's health, problems that show that the advantages and possibilities of socialist society are not being sufficiently utilized. The causes of unfavorable developments rest in the low standard of production and working conditions, in nutrition problems, in the serious shortcomings in the way of life of a considerable portion of population, and in the low interest of individuals, collectives, and groups in their own health.

The Federal Assembly Presidium recommended that the federal government assess and make use of the suggestions contained in the resolution of the Federal Assembly bodies to work out measures to settle current problems in health care.

The Presidium also discussed the main findings from complaints, proposals, and other letters from citizens and organizations. It also discussed information about the measures for expanding the flow of information to the public about the work of Federal Assembly deputies and bodies. It additionally endorsed a proposal on the Federal Assembly's participation in the international parliamentary exhibition in Paris to mark the 200th anniversary of the great French revolution.

Jakes Receives USSR Ambassador 21 Mar

LD2103203389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Today Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee, received in Prague Viktor Lomakin, Soviet ambassador to

Czechoslovakia. The Soviet ambassador informed him about the recent meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. They also discussed the further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

Federal Assembly Session Opens 21 Mar

LD2103111289 Prague CTK in English 1032 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—A two-day meeting of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly opened here today.

Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes will report on major issues of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. Other points on the agenda will be two draft agreements between Czechoslovakia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, two consular agreements with the DPRK and China and an agreement between the Governments of Czechoslovakia and Austria on cooperation in preventing and detecting criminal acts.

The session, presided by Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra, is attended by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and National Front Chairman Milos Jakes and other representatives.

Johanes on Disarmament Efforts

LD2103205489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Federal Assembly today discussed the basic issues of our foreign policy. We will now acquaint you with some ideas from the report by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes:

[Begin Johanes recording] Czechoslovakia is one of the nine states playing a direct part in the implementation of the historic Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles. We adopted relevant inspection measures on our territory and ensured all conditions for the first U.S. inspection. We also thoroughly implement the conclusions of the Stockholm conference on the measures for reinforcing confidence and security and disarmamen[t] in Europe.

As for overall international security, we consider the settlement of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive weapons to be of prime importance. We are also working to halt nuclear tests and for the successful completion of the talks on the complete banning and eradication of chemical weapons in the spirit of the conclusions of this year's Paris foreign ministers conference. Our contribution in this direction was to carry out an experiment in Czechoslovakia proving the possibility of effective control over the nonproduction of chemical weapons in the civil sector.

Along with the other Warsaw Pact member states, we strive to achieve the earliest possible special talks on tactical nuclear weapons. Czechoslovakia is not and cannot be indifferent to efforts to update and compensate for the nuclear potential deployed to the west of our borders. Our country lies in the heart of the continent, on the border of the two strongest military-political alliances. It had its bitter experience, for which it paid in blood. The Munich diktat followed by the fascist occupation in March 1939 were tragic events in our modern history. They preceded the World War II fire which started 50 years ago.

History also teaches us that the security of the Republic could not be secured even by a ready, well-equipped army, if the necessary internal and external conditions were not created for it. This is why we pay such intense attention to military-political issues. This is also reflected in our attitude toward two important negotiating forums: one on conventional disarmament, and one on measures for strengthening confidence and security in Europe, which began at the start of this month at the foreign ministerial level.

After the foreign ministers' meetings in Paris and in Vi[e]na in January, this meeting, too, provided an opportu[n]ity to explain at such a broad international forum the Czechoslovak Government's attitudes and proposals on the questions of security, disarmament, and peaceful cooperation, particularly with regard to Europe. We consider the political will and readiness to reach agreements decisive. We are doing everything to ensure that the fruitless polemics over the numbers of troops and arms in which the 15-year-old unsuccessful talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in central Europe became bogged down, are not repeated. Measures, especially in the central European sector along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, would correspond to our interests. Our delegation will also work for this in Vienna.

The decision on the unilateral reduction of armed forces, arms, and military budgets adopted by the socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, gave an important impetus to these talks. Among them is the temporary [as heard] withdrawal of a section of the Soviet troops stationed on our territory. These far-reaching steps are an expression of the unequivocally defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Pact. We are convinced that a similar constructive approach by the NATO member states would positively affect the Vienna talks.

By reducing the number of personnel and arms, and by instituting organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army, we are also pursuing the aim of aiding the national economy, especially the construction industry and transportation. We are also planning a gradual curb and an eventual cessation of production in certain military plants and their changeover to civilian production. We believe that the problem of the transition from military to civilian production should become the subject of multilateral international talks.

Our activity in the disarmament sector does not of course mean that we are paying less attention to the country's ability to defend itself. The reliable safeguarding of the security and defense of the state continues to remain one of our primary tasks.

European policy is one of the principal directions of our activity in the diplomatic field. Our prime concern is the further all-around development of the Helsinki process. We are among those who have been shaping it jointly from its very inception. We want it to be deepened in the interest of building a common European home so that it will bring benefits in all areas through the development of political dialogue, the continuation of the process of real disarmament, close cooperation in protecting the environment; in utilizing the economic, scientific, and technological potentials; in the exchange of cultural values; and in safeguarding human rights in their entirety.

The elevation of cooperation in the field of human rights onto a truly higher level demands that interstate relations not be burdened by ideological confrontation, that an end be put to forcing one's views and notions on others. As we have already emphasized in Vienna, a serious and unbiased dialogue must be conducted on these questions, and unsubstantiated accusations of failing to fulfill accepted obligations, as well as attempts to influence our internal development from outside, must be abandoned. We reject such attempts because they run counter to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, as well as to the conclusions reached at the follow-up meeting in Vienna. The questions connected with the implementation of the Vienna document must be judged responsibly in line with their provisions.

Czechoslovakia has begun the consistent implementation of the Vienna document. It has been published in our country in very large numbers. The relevant departments and institutions have examined it thoroughly, and submitted to the government proposals and recommendations on the further course of action in its implementation. This also concerns the gradual harmonizing of our legal regulations with its provisions wherever necessary. We will understandably concern ourselves with the way the document is being implemented by the other participating states. The obligations arising from the Helsinki process apply equally in the East and the West. Our Western partners must also realize this.

We want not only diplomats to share in the realization of the conclusions of the Vienna meeting but also our public. A wide field for activity is opening here for peoples' diplomacy. We believe that organizations affiliated in the National Front will make wide use of these new possibilities.

Our Republic has inserted itself into the awareness of the European public through its foreign political initiative: the proposal by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. It represents our specific contribution to the implementation of the idea of the joint European home, and to the advancement of all aspects of the Helsinki process.

Consultations with our partners have shown that great interest is expressed in our suggestions on the political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian aspects of this plan: for example, to establish regular contacts along parliamentary and govermental lines between political parties and mass organizations; the possibility for joint forces in the fight against terrorism and drug smuggling; creating custom-free economic zones; jointly constructing highways and interlink power systems; and also cooperation in the protection of the environment.

In the area of humanitarian cooperation, proposals to expand contacts between people, particularly young people, and contacts among border regions, districts, towns, enterprises, schools, and scientific institutions have met with a favorable response. Contacts among media, which have an irreplaceable role in the creation of trust, could expand considerably.

The list of our proposals is, naturally, incomplete. We allow our partners to contribute their proposals and ideas to their enrichment. [end recording]

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1600 GMT on 21 March reports: "The 1st day's proceedings of the 13th joint session of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly ended in Prague today. The deputies adopted a resolution approving the report by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes on the fundamental issues of Czechoslovak foreign policy."]

'Roundtable' Held With SFRY Media Officials

AU1703190589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 89 p 1

["(kou)"-signed report: "'Roundtable' Discussion Between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; Topic: Communications Media and Democratization"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)— A 'roundtable' working meeting devoted to the topic "Mass Communications Media and Their Role in the Democratization of Society" was held in Prague on Tuesday [14 March]. This event was part of the plans for cooperation between the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and between RUDE PRAVO and KOMUNIST, the press organs of the two parties.

The Yugoslav side was represented at the session by Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; by Vitomir Sudarski, director of the paper KOMUNIST; by Zdravko Lekovic, director of the journalism institute in Belgrade; and by Milka Zugic,

political staffer of the LCY Central Committee. The Czechoslovak delegation consisted of Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of RUDE PRAVO; Josef Hora, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; and Zdenek Sumbera, director of the Institute of Theory and Practice of Journalism. The deliberations were also attended by Dusan Rodic, SFRY ambassador to the CSSR.

M. Lolic spoke of the influence of Yugoslav Communists on the accomplishment of the topical tasks of the mass communications media in present-day Yugoslav society. He stressed the need to creatively discuss the work of journalists and the role they play in the search for ways to resolve the problems confronting the Yugoslav people. Vitomir Sudarski stressed the roots of the historical traditions of communist journalism in Yugoslavia, on which the professional ethics of Communists working in the SFRY's press, radio, and television are based. Zdravko Lekovic dealt with the scientific research of information processes, with the results of this research, and with its contribution to Yugoslav society. The Czechoslovak participants concentrated on explaining the specific forms of implementing the CPCZ's leading role in the work of mass communications media. In his statement, Josef Hora stressed, inter alia, that the top party bodies particularly have committed the Communists to energetic participation in improving the process of providing information to the public. Zdenek Horeni dealt with the knowledge currently acquired by RUDE PRAVO as the platform for the democratic exchange of views and experience. Zdenek Sumbera briefed the participants in the 'roundtable' talks on the knowledge acquired by Czechoslovak researchers in studying the activities of mass information and propaganda media. The individual statements were followed up in the discussion and in the exchange of specific experience acquired in work under the conditions of Czechoslovak and Yugoslav society.

'Great Differences' in Experiences

LD1503103689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1720 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Prague, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—During their roundtable talks today in Prague, representatives of the LCY and the CPCZ today stated that there had often been great differences in the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak experiences in the information sector, but, as both sides agreed, under present processes of democratization, the information media in both countries are gaining in importance and responsibility in proportion to the nature and specific features of the changes in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Today's exchange of views on the present role of the press, radio, and television was organized within the framework of interparty cooperation and was designed to acquaint both sides with each other's different experiences and the work of the information media in the two countries. Special emphasis was placed on the role of the LCY and the CPCZ in developing the information system and on the party press.

The Yugoslav press, said Marko Lolic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, plays a truly significant role in the struggle to develop socialist self-management. This is because only people who are informed of things properly, on time, and objectively can think, make decisions, and act responsibly.

Director of KOMMUNIST Viktor Sudarski outlined the history of the development of the party press in Yugoslavia, stressing that in the course of the current reform in the LCY, as part of the democratic transformation of the entire society, the role of the party press would continue to grow. Zdravko Lekovic, director of the Yugoslav Institute for Journalism, also took part in the discussion.

On the Czechoslovak side, the roundtable talks were attended by Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Commitee Secretariat; Josef Hora, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee Propaganda Department; Zdenek Sumbera, director of the Prague Institute for the Theory and Practice of Journalism; and others.

Lenart Meets Lolic, Delegation

AU1703154789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Mar 89 p 2

["(z)"-signed report: "Meeting the LCY Delegation"]

[Text] Prague—Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Central Committee secretary, met with a delegation of the LCY led by Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in Prague on Wednesday [15 March].

The representatives of the two fraternal parties briefed each other on the topical issues that are currently being resolved by the CPCZ and LCY. They also appraised the course and results of the working meeting, during which the CPCZ and LCY delegations exchanged views on the role of the communications media in the process of democratization within the society.

The reception was attended by Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of RUDE PRAVO. Dusan Rodic, SFRY ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

On the same day, Comrade Marko Lolic met with RUDE PRAVO editors for talks. He spoke to them about the present situation in Yugoslavia and about the tasks of Yugoslav Communists in preparing for the LCY Congress.

At a meeting with the students of the CPCZ Central Committee's School of Advanced Politics, Comrade Vitomir Sudarski, director of the paper KOMUNIST, read a paper on topical problems in Yugoslav society.

Later that day the Yugoslav guests inspected the premises of Czechoslovak television on the Kavci Hill, and also visited the premises of CTK, where the guests particularly acquainted themselves with the press agency's modern equipment.

Minister Calfa Details New Constitution

AU2103140589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 89 p 1

[Interview with Marian Calfa, minister without portfolio, by Prague RUDE PRAVO editor Jiri Kohout and Bratislava PRAVDA editor Iveta Fryvaldska: "The Points of Departure in the New CSSR Constitution; RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA Interview Minister Marian Calfa"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The first session of the CPCZ and CSSR National Front Commission For Preparing the New Constitution, which was held at the beginning of this year, evoked the public's keen interest; it defined the main directions of work on the new version of this basic state law and clarified its purpose, goals, and contents. We asked CSSR Government Minister Marian Calfa, who became head of the 20-member working group—it consists of politicians and legislation experts—for an interview. [passage omitted]

[Question] What will be taken over from the old Constitution, what has proved its worth, and what has become a thing of the past?

[Calfa] In order to answer this question we must realize the nature of the socialist constitution. This constitution is closely linked with the social and state development at the appropriate stage—it is a balance of the road traveled by the working people under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] since it assumed power. It does not merely mean a passive summing up of the results achieved in developing our society to date, it also means their generalization and comprehensive expression in a single document. The CSSR Constitution will express the principles which have proved their worth and which are the basis of a socialist constitution. This primarily means the sovereignty and power of the working people, the leading role of the workers class and its vanguard, the CPCZ, the sovereignty and equal rights of our two nations, guarantees for the development of the rights of nationalities, and socialist internationalism and humanism.

However, a constitution is no mere balance of the existing state of affairs—it must also establish conditions for further social development. To a certain extent, it also contains a program of active development. That is why it will be important to express in our constitution the fundamental principles of the comprehensive restructuring of our society, as defined by the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPCZ Central Committee sessions. The substance of this program—CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes, chairman of the CPCZ and CSSR National Front Commission For Preparing the New Constitution, expressed it at the commission's first session—lies in "the broad democratization of the society and of our entire political system, aimed at making the fullest possible use of socialism's material and spiritual potential, at fully developing it, at raising it to a new and qualitatively higher level, and at consolidating man's status as the true ruler and master of his country."

From the viewpoint of this political directive, in working on the new constitution we will have to assess what has proved its worth in the present Constitution, but also what has become exhausted and no longer provides a sufficient basis for further social development.

[Question] What experience do we have with intensifying and developing the social and state life of Czechs and Slovaks in our joint state? Can you tell us at least the outlines of ideas on the division of jurisdiction between the CSSR Federation and the two republics? There are various views on this, perhaps one should explain how the rational development of the Czechoslovak Federation is to be understood.

[Calfa] At the session of the CPCZ and CSSR National Front Commission For Preparing the New CSSR Constitution it was stated that we have points of departure in adjusting relations between the two bearers of Czechoslovak statehood—the Czech and Slovak nations. The experience acquired during the more than 20 years of Czechoslovak Federation proves that the chosen form of constitutional law was right. This was positively evaluated in the conclusions of the last CPCZ Congresses. The fact that the question of balancing the socioeconomic differences between the two republics has been solved expresses, inter alia, the new quality of relations based on constitutional law.

What are the points of departure in answering your question? One should proceed from the well-proven principles of equal rights, the voluntary union of our nations, the unity of Czechoslovak economy, the basic unity of our political system, and the equality of citizens' rights throughout our state. At the same time our mutual relations should reflect the demands on restructuring our economic mechanism and—as the political directive for the creation of the new constitution also stresses—particularly the close collaboration of federal and republican agencies which form a joint management center. At the present stage of work it is still too complicated to give you a specific answer. We know which problems have not been fully resolved when the jurisdiction was being divided at the beginning of the seventies—they will have to be considered now. New relations are being gradually formed in the unified management center and this

experience will have to be evaluated and reflected not only in the division of jurisdictions, but also in a new definition of the tasks of individual federal and republican state agencies, including the status of national committees. [passage omitted]

Government Presidium Measures Outlined

AU2103140489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Mar 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Tasks Are Mandatory; From the Presidium of the CSSR Government; By Pushing Through Amendments to the State Plan Enterprises Try To Create for Themselves the Most Favorable Conditions Possible; Financial Aid for Builders of Family Homes Will Be Increased"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [16 March] the CSSR Government Presidium discussed a report by the State Planning Commission on the provisions to date for the tasks of the state procedural plan and a proposal for further action.

Already in the course of its preparation, the 1989 State Plan was distinguished by a marked tension between resources and needs, and during its approval it was necessary to adopt a series of measures which were aimed at restoring the balance in decisive spheres of the economy.

First and foremost, these measures concerned a reduction in the volume of newly started projects and in the volume of investments in the enterprise sphere that are dependent on the generation of resources. Standards, levies, and appropriations in foreign trade were set up in such a way as to increase the direct relation between the creation and the utilization of foreign currency resources. The instruments of wage regulation were to ensure that the absolute volume of wages payable does not exceed the level of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the expenditure of the state budget is regulated in a way that is dependent on the planned development of its revenue, so that the balance of the state budget is guaranteed.

Despite these measures, reserves could not be created in the plan which would allow newly arising needs to be compensated for and which would enable the possible shortfalls in material and financial resources to be balanced out. The situation is made complicated by the fact that central organs, first and foremost branch organs, are still not operating as a homogeneous national economic center and by the fact that the enterprise sphere is not proceeding in the creation of economic plans from the point of view of self-financing and, by forcing through amendments to the state plan, is trying to create for itself the most favorable economic conditions prior to the decision on economic instruments which will come into force on 1 January 1990.

Given the existing tensions in basic economic relations, it is possible to create conditions for embarking upon the new economic mechanism only by maintaining the high demands of the state plan and the state budget that are directed toward strengthening the economic balance.

At variance with this, in a series of cases economic organizations are orienting themselves toward laying down undemanding tasks for the plan and do not utilize the existing production potential. This indicates that they have worked out a so-called realistic economic plan which will be easy to exceed during the course of the year.

The shortcomings in ensuring the tasks of the plan bear out the uncomprehensive approach of the economic organizations and the internal inconsistencies of their plans. The adoption of the economic plans would mean freeing the way for inflationary processes and would be at variance with the tasks for guaranteeing the material and systemic prerequisites of the new economic mechanism.

In their discussion the members of the CSSR Government Presidium analyzed suggestions for the thorough establishment of the tasks of the state plan. The government Presidium unequivocally confirmed the principle of the validity of the tasks of the state procedural plan and set individual members of the government the task of immediately adopting the necessary measures for its fulfillment. At the same time, it decided that the State Planning Commission will prepare an analytical report on the provision of the tasks for this year's plan and together with a set of concrete measures will put it forward for discussion by the CSSR Government in April of this year.

As the first of a complex of measures to support individual housing construction, the CSSR Government Presidium approved an increase in financial aid for those builders of family homes who complete construction before the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Instead of the Kcs10,000 received to date, builders who complete the construction of a house before the end of 1990 will receive Kcs20,000 for a construction period that lasts 3 years and Kcs25,000 for a construction period that lasts 2 years. This amendment will be introduced by amended edict No 186/1985 in the Legal Gazette dealing with financial aid for individual and cooperative construction and modernization of family homes, taking effect in the first 6 months of this year.

Human Rights Body Ignores 'Illegal Groups'

AU2103125889

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 March on page 3 carries a 1,200-word article by Rostislav Valasek entitled "13 Opletalova Street." The article deals with the work of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, which was set up in December 1988 (and whose headquarters are at No 13 Opletalova Street in Prague). It is based on the author's undated interviews

with Frantisek Gajdosik, LLD, who heads the committee's office, and Frantisek Brabenec, LLD, who processes complaints addressed to the committee. According to Brabenec, during the months of January and February, the committee received about 1,000 "suggestions, comments, or complaints"; initially, about one-third of all letters were "politically motivated," but, meanwhile, their proportion has "substantially declined." Other letters reportedly concern civil law and labor disputes, as well as complaints "betraying that their authors do not realize what the mission of the committee is." Valasek specifies that such letters include, for instance, money-back requests from people who bought a defective product or grievances by women about their divorced husbands who do not pay alimony. Gajdosik points out that in all such cases the committee advises the litigants to appeal to the relevant "competent" state body. He also requests that people "turn to the committee primarily with questions connected with the committee's main mission, which is observance of human rights in the spirit of the conclusions of the Helsinki conference and the Vienna follow-up meeting in both Czechoslovakia and other countries and the deepening of our citizens' legal awareness."

One passage of Valasek's article deals with the committee's response to anonymous letters and letters from "illegal groups." It reads: "Anonymous letters, which, regrettably, are often vulgar in tone, are also being addressed to No 13 Opletalova Street. Anonymous letters are being handled in line with valid regulations, that is, in most cases one does not react to them. The only exception are anonymous letters from which it is evident that the writer fears persecution by a superior or otherwise influential official to whose unlawful conduct he is drawing attention. In such cases, the committee passes the anonymous letter on to the relevant agency. The committee also does not respond to group petitions [podani] of illegal groups, because they do not have an official status and because, as is evident from these petitions, the petition's names often figure in the petitions of various groups. The committee's staffers are ready to deal even with these cases (and they do so)—however, only by dealing with individuals in their capacity as private persons."

Professor Criticizes Post-1968 Developments

AU2203090489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 17 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

["sr"-signed report: "Remaining a Mainstay of the Party"]

[Excerpts] Prague— A meeting of prewar meritorious members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] from all over Prague was held in the Palace of Culture yesterday, in the presence of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to mark the 60th anniversary of the Fifth CPCZ Congress and the 40th anniversary of the Ninth CPCZ Congress. [passage omitted]

Of the more than 10 contributions to the discussions at the meeting, our correspondent's attention was engrossed, in particular, by the opening statement of Prof Jiri Hajek. He said, among other things: "Today we reap the unpropitious fruits of the style of political education of young people employed throughout the 1970's and much of the 1980's. The rule at universities, where I spent most of these years, was: 'Shut up and toe the line!' Those who did so had no problems. Among the majority of students this bred a state of schizophrenia when one set of views was recited at examinations and another set, often a quite contradictory one, was upheld at home and among friends. Young Communists who dared have their own opinion even at school were in trouble. If we really want to win the youth for socialism, and there is no other option, then we must unconditionally link criticism of the year 1968 with self-criticism of the past 20 years when we pretended that most problems simply did not exist. The only way is a frank discussion about everything that deforms young people's attitude toward the Communist Party and socialism. However, precisely these discussions show that we have become unused to policy-making. Instead, we have grown accustomed to rule by directives, by means of power. The complete truth about the past and the present often requires heroic strength, even just to manage to admit it to ourselves. But there is no other way."

CPSL Holds Session on Upcoming Congress

LD2003215989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Presidium today held a session in Bratislava. A draft of the agreement on the outline of a program for economic and scientific as well as technological cooperation and the development of cultural and sporting ties between the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was discussed. The Presidium stated that the fact that the two republics are geographically close to each other made possible not only the development of an effective exchange of consumer goods but also contributed, at the same time, toward the higher satisfaction of needs and their quicker development.

The Presidium also evaluated the information on the course of the party economic investigation at the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject construction site as well as of adopted measures. It stressed the importance of consistent party control concerning the involved resorts and organizations.

The Presidium went on to acquaint itself with the preparation of a CPSL Central Committee session for 11 April to discuss the convocation of the CPSL Congress as well as the tasks of Communists in Slovakia in preparing the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress. A report concerning these questions will be delivered at the session by Comrade Ignac Janak.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium also discussed a report on securing supplies of meat and other animal products in Slovakia. It noted that in spite of rather good conditions for supplying the market, problems in smooth operations and sorting products still exist. This was why the Presidium stressed the requirement to deepen cooperation between producers and trade organizations and to react in a more flexible way to consumer demands.

Netherlands' Release of 'War Criminals' Protested

AU2003150589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Release of War Criminals in the Netherlands"]

[Text] Prague—CTK has issued a statement on the release of war criminals in the Netherlands, in which it states:

On 7 January 1989 the parliament of the Netherlands decided that war criminals Franz Fischer and Ferdinand aus der Fuenten, who were sentenced for crimes against humanity, should be released from prison. The two were personally responsible for the deportation of tens of thousands of Jewish citizens to concentration camps. At a time when we are recalling the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the occupation of our country by fascist Germany and the inauspicuous consequences of this event for the fate of our nations and for further developments in the world, the decision of the Netherlands parliament cannot fail to affect the feelings of those Czechoslovak citizens who have lived through the terrors of fascism and survived its crimes. The release of the two war criminals is alarming, for it objectively encourages the activities of those reactionary forces which are more and more openly propagating the ideas of neofascism in certain Western countries.

CTK considers it necessary to declare that Czechoslovakia, one of the first victims of fascism, expects the authorities of the Netherlands to realize the adverse effects of their decision.

CSCE Follow-Up Meeting Document Published

AU2003144989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 89 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The brochure "Final Document of the CSCE Follow-up Meeting in Vienna" was issued on Friday [17 March] by the PRAVDA publishing house in Bratislava, in an edition of 30,000 copies of 76 pages each. By publishing the documents—they were published in Czech this week—the CSSR is fulfilling its international obligations. The brochure will be distributed to the bookstore network as early as next week.

Contracts Concluded With GDR at Leipzig Fair

AU2203092189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Mar 89 p 6

[CTK Leipzig dispatch: "R500 Million Worth of Contracts With the GDR"]

[Text] Leipzig—The traditional Leipzig Spring Fair, which was attended this year by some 9,000 firms and enterprises from all over the world, ended on Saturday [18 March]. Czechoslovak exhibitors, who were represented by 37 foreign trade organizations, used the fair to conclude over R500 million worth of contracts with the GDR partners, thereby fulfilling almost 90 percent of the protocol on the mutual exchange of goods for this year.

The Skodaexport foreign trade enterprise, for example, will export to the GDR 19 dual-system locomotives of the Skoda 80 type, which will ensure passenger and freight railroad traffic between the CSSR and the GDR. The Strojimport foreign trade enterprise mediated the purchase of a flexible system for machining large-format prismatic castings from gray cast iron, which will be put into operation in the Prerov engineering works.

Deceptiveness of Good 1988 Statistics Noted

AU2103130589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 89 p 2

[Svatopluk Smutny commentary: "Who Gains by It?"]

[Excerpts] Before long, the results of the national economy for the 1st quarter of the year will be added up. Facts will show whether last year's positive development continues. However, a comparison of developmental trends will be more important than the figures themselves, because even good results can conceal uncalled-for deviations.

For example, last year industry as a whole achieved the planned growth rate, but individual branches and sectors developed unevenly. About one-fifth of enterprises fell short of their tasks and, because Czechoslovak manufacturing is highly monopolized, their Kcs7.7 billion shortfall in goods production meant shortages of quite specific ranges of products. [passage omitted]

As is known, every balance sheet can be approached from different angles. Engineering enterprises did not fulfill the planned export deliveries to nonsocialist countries, and heavy engineering did not even fulfill planned exports to socialist countries. On the other hand, our machine builders greatly exceeded planned deliveries for capital investment. They undoubtedly claim credit for this, yet in our economic policy there exists some scale of priorities, in which capital investment does not take precedence over exports into the convertible currency area. Will the machine builders take a lesson from this, or will they content themselves even this year with marketing their output without regard for state interests?

They may retort that foreign trade slightly overfulfilled its tasks last year. But at what cost? The drop in exports of machinery and equipment was offset by increased exports of raw materials and inexpensive value-added goods. Steel workers can take pride in the fact that they exceeded their export plan by almost 34 percent. However, from the viewpoint of national interests this definitely is no reason to rejoice, but rather the reverse.

Light-industry enterprises last year supplied almost one-half of their output to the domestic market— that is, about 4 percent more than the year before. However, this is calculated in wholesale prices. A behind-the-scenes look at retailing betrays that a shift occurred in supplies in the direction of higher-price categories. This is borne out by the increase in the average prices of sold merchandise. Average prices of knitwear, for example, increased 10.8 percent; average prices of leather footwear 10.7 percent; average prices of textile footwear 15.4 percent; and average prices of rubber footwear even as much as 20 percent (this is also an explanation for the sharp drop in sales of rubber footwear last year). The main finding is that supplies did not match the needs of low-income groups or of citizens whose income did not increase.

Manufacturers and retailers are not likely to express enthusiasm upon hearing this because, in essence, they both find the aforementioned shift to their liking. It is not, however, advantageous for the people who cannot satisfy their needs by buying goods in higher-price categories, let alone luxury products. And we once again arrive at the old, still unresolved problem of a clash between enterprise or group interests and national interests. [passage omitted]

Key Reform Step Seen as Counterproductive

AU2003145489

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 March, in the "Discussion Tribune" column on page 3, publishes two readers' letters, totaling 1,000 words, which criticize the increase in the tax on wages from 20 to 50 percent as of the beginning of the year, one of the "most important measures" of the new policy on levies and taxes. As RUDE PRAVO notes in its introductory remarks, these two letters "uncover some snags of an indiscriminate increase in the cost of human labor."

In the first letter, an unsigned upholsterer working for a production cooperative complains that this increase has made his services prohibitively expensive (for every Kcs100 of his wages, the customer now has to pay an additional Kcs675, instead of Kcs327) and voices the suspicion that "those responsible for this change either did not think about it at all and are greatly detached from practical life, or else they have set themselves the goal of liquidating services." The upholsterer says that whereas in the past he never worried about the supply of orders, "now when customers come and hear the new prices of repairs, they leave again with a sour face." The upholsterer calls on the "responsible officials" to reconsider their decision and to distinguish between services where human labor can be replaced by technology and professions, such as his own, that "cannot be mechanized even in the future." If the new regulations stay in force, the upholsterer says in conclusion, "it could mean the end for some categories of repair jobs." The second letter is from Frantisek Cabelka, employee of a Prague Research Institute. Cabelka says that, for the majority of the staff of the Czechoslovak research and development base, the indiscriminate increase in the tax on wages is "an incomprehensible legislative measure" because it fails to distinguish between the work of a manual worker, the substitution of which by technology is vital, and the creative work of a scientist or researcher. Cabelka fears that the increase in the cost of research and development work will discourage the economic sphere from applying research results and will slow down scientific and technological development, "which is the opposite of what an effective restructuring of the economic mechanism requires." Cabelka concludes his letter by saying that he will be "grateful to the central organs of management for letting me know a single sensible argument for the implementation of this legislative measure."

Cooperation With Nonsocialist Firms Noted

AU1703180589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 89 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Commercial Bank currently has on its register a total of 313 cooperation agreements between our organizations and firms in nonsocialist countries, particularly in the FRG, Italy, and Austria. Last year the turnover amounted to about Kcs2,380 million (i.e. about $159 million). In a number of cases, this cooperation is helping us acquire new technology and is enabling us to produce modern commodities which can also be sold on foreign markets. For instance, this cooperation represents a great contribution to the development of biotechnologies.

Dissatisfaction With Computer Production Progress

AU1303083789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Mar 89 p 3

[Eng Jindrich Katscher article: "A Chunk Is Still Left To Be Done; Will the Statewide Personal Computers Program Be Implemented?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Mikroelektronika association is greatly lagging behind its projections. In 1988 it fulfilled its computer production plan by only about 30 percent, and the plan for producing peripheral equipment and external memories, for all practical purposes, by zero percent. For this reason, it is very improbable that it will be able to produce in 2 years about 120,000 8-byte and 80,000 16-byte computers with all the promised peripheral equipment necessary for their operation. Therefore, a concrete stand by responsible representatives of the Mikroelektronika association on the prerequisites for the fulfillment of the original projections would be more than desirable. [passage omitted]

FRG Statement Rejected, Termed 'Interference'

LD1703165289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1328 GMT 17 Mar 89

["Interference in the GDR's Internal Affairs Rejected; Spokesman's Statement on Behalf of the GDR Government"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On behalf of the GDR Government, the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman has issued a strong protest against slanderous statements made Thursday [16 March] in the FRG Bundestag against the GDR. He rejected the blatant interference in the GDR's internal affairs as being contradictory to the Helsinki Final Act and the basic treaty between the GDR and the FRG.

Slanders against the GDR are not suited to promoting the businesslike relations between the GDR and FRG. This has already been pointed out by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier on Wednesday in a talk with Dr Franz Bertele, head of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR.

The GDR Government once again points out that it positively assesses the resuls of the CSCE conference in Vienna. It has been underlined on several occasions that the GDR is fulfilling the stipulations of the Vienna document within the framework of her laws. However it will not accept any activities which, improperly invoking this document, are aimed at interfering in the GDR's internal affairs. That would completely reverse the spirit of the document. The final document of the Vienna CSCE conference clearly states the right of each state to determine its own laws and regulations; its policies and practices must be respected. This applies without limitation to the GDR's right to guarantee law and order on its borders. No one in the FRG has a say on questions concerning the maintenance of the system of laws in the GDR, just as there is no "obligation to look after the interests of all Germans."

The spokesman underlined that the GDR is still interested in normal relations with the FRG in line with the joint communique of 8 September 1987 on the occasion of the official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Much is underway and is proceeding in the right direction. The GDR however cannot help taking into account the campaign conducted against it by the FRG. The recent developments arouse doubts about statements by the Federal Government that it also wants to shape relations with the GDR on the basis of the basic treaty and the joint communique.

The spokesman expressed his hope that Bonn will find its way back to the foundation of businesslike relations with the GDR and that on the basis of the agreement reached, relations between the GDR and the FRG will continue to develop in the interests of safeguarding peace for the citizens of the two states.

ADN Outlines FRG Human Rights Violations

LD1803090489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] [no dateline as received]—

Violation of Human Rights in the FRG

With the concluding document agreed upon at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, the FRG Government also recognized that the promotion of economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights, is of paramount importance for human rights and the realization of the legitimate strivings of each individual. It assured, as did all the other CSCE participant states, that it intended to devote particular attention to problems in the areas of employment, housing, social security, health, education, and culture, and that in particular, it intended to achieve by means of legislative measures the step-by-step complete realization of economic, social, and cultural rights. However, human rights are being violated in the FRG in a flagrant way:

Violation of the Human Right To Work

More than 4 million people still are affected by mass unemployment. The FRG lacks effective measures for the elimination of this social crisis. On the contrary, unemployment rose following the so-called employment promotion law of 1985, with which it rather extended the possibilities for temporary work relationships without pension rights or health insurance protection. In all, social insecurity increased with this measure. With the ninth amendment to this law, which came into force on 1 January 1989, the FRG Government is continuing to evade its responsibility for the solution of the unemployment problem. State subsidies for further professional training and work creation measures are being further reduced. With this policy, the Bonn government is violating the obligation under international law to realize the right to work "gradually, with all suitable means, with predominantly legislative measures." This obligation was adopted by the FRG on its joining the international convention on economic, social, and cultural rights.

Violation of the Human Right to Social Security

In the FRG, the term 'new poverty' has been coined. Ten million people are affected by it, and the number is rising. One third of society is pushed increasingly to the sidelines. The state is looking after the poor, the sick, the unemployed, and the homeless to a lesser and lesser degree. Social security systems are cut back, industrial safety regulations and protection against unlawful dismissal are demagogically denounced as obstacles to

employment. Already firms can offer jobs under conditions that are below the level of unemployment benefits, but wherever social security is not guaranteed, individual freedom is also restricted.

Violation of the Human Right to Housing

Some 1 million homes are needed in the FRG. The number of homeless has risen to 110,000. Rents are getting beyond the means of more and more families. The situation continues to deteriorate with the ruling of the Federal Constitutional Court in February of this year. Thirty-five million tenants can no longer be certain of their homes. By claiming "own needs," landlords can turn families out at any time. Thus, the rights of the owner triumph over protective and human rights.

Violation of the Human Right to Health

It is an undermining of the right of every citizen to the highest achievable state of physical and mental health for the extent and quality of medical care to be increasingly dependent on the individual's ability to pay, as with the structural reform of the health system in the FRG, which came into force on 1 January 1989.

Violation of the Human Right to Freedom of Opinion

Again and again, FRG citizens run the risk of being considered criminals because they publicly declare their opinion against the arms policy endangering peace, because they publicly declare their will to survive. Thousands of people still are being brought before the courts and punished because they have demonstrated against the stationing of U.S. intermediate-range missiles, although these diabolical weapons are being scrapped after the first disarmament treaty between the USSR and the United States. Respect for human rights requires that this series of cases—5,600 proceedings—be stopped and that those already condemned be rehabilitated. It is disrespectful toward the right to freedom of assembly and demonstration when FRG citizens are beaten up by the police and arrested because they are protesting against neonazi activities, because they are forming a front against a revival of that spirit which led to the greatest crimes against mankind. The Potsdam Agreement, the UN Charter, and the respect and protection of human rights demand that neonazi parties and organizations be banned.

Violation of the Human Right to Freedom of Conscience and Religion

No country except the FRG is acquainted with the job denial practice. Since 1972, more than 1,000 FRG citizens have been subjected to the job-denial practice only because they made use of their right tc freedom of conscience, religion, and speech; ran in elections for the legal DKP [German Communist Party]; or worked in this party or in other progressive organizations for the interests of the working people. Respect for human rights and human dignity demand that an end be put to this practice and that degrading loyalty investigation—to which already more than 4 million FRG citizens have fallen victim—be stopped. The Bonn government has been asked to do just that for a long time by many well-known organizations, including the International Labor Organization, which proved that the FRG disregarded international agreements on job discrimination that it signed. In that same country where antifascists, members of the peace movement, and Communists are subjected to the job-denial practice, judges of the nazist people's court, which between 1934 and 1945 pronounced more than 5,000 death sentences, have been able to exercise their profession, even in job-denial practice proceedings. Not one of them has been called to account for his crimes against humanity in fascist Germany.

Violation of the Human Right to the Certainty of the Law

Certainty of the law does not exist when the ban on the KPD [Communist Party of Germany], which was pronounced in the FRG in 1956, continues to be maintained, thus Communists live factually under a state of emergency. In preparation and execution of the then-ban, more than half a million people—a great number than the entire KPD membership—became victims of mass political persecution. Those sentenced under the influence of the cold war have not yet been rehabilitated; their persecution has not yet been compensated. The KPD ban continues to hover like the sword of Damocles over the Communists of subsequent generations. It is another attack on the certainty of the law when, even before the summer recess of the lower house, the so-called security laws are being tightened. These laws aim at intimidating citizens even more strongly and at making the ferreting out, spying on, and computer registration of people still more complete. The right to freedom of speech, the right of demonstration and assembly is thus still further underminded. It was to undermine the right of every individual to the protection of his private sphere when the federal constitutional court, with its ruling in 1970 on the so-called bugging law, gave the FRG Government a free hand to infringe upon the secrecy of the mails and the telephone.

Even visitors to the FRG are denied certainty of the law, as is once again underlined by the latest revelations about the spying on GDR citizens n the FRG.

Violation of the Human Right to the Equality of All People Irrespective of Race or National Origin

A wave of xenophobia is sweeping the FRG. Guest workers, without whom large section of society would no longer function, are discriminated against economically, politically, and socially. They are denied the right to be fellow citizens. Laws are being prepared, which are intended to increasingly close FRG borders to foreigners, to undermine the right to asylum guaranteed by the Constitution, and to almost completely prevent the

reuniting of foreigners' families in the FRG. This constitutes a disregard for the commitment entered into with the signing of the International Convention on Human Rights to guarantee human rights to all people within the territory, irrespective of race or national origin.

The facts prove that if the FRG Government and the parties that form it want to do something for human rights, then they have more than enough to do in their own state. The main things that should be changed are government practices and laws, which clearly stand in contradiction to international obligations and to the claims they make themselves with regard to respect for human rights.

Cheney Wants To 'Hide' Single Warhead Missiles

LD2103184889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1610 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Horst Kaeubler commentary]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The new Pentagon chief is concerned by the modernization of strategic weapons. This is what he is interested in. The MX missile, the missile with 10 multiwarheads, is not to be deployed in silos. Cheney wants to place the MX on trains that constantly change position.

Since the time when negotiations started in Geneva, the United States demanded the abandonment of mobile missiles because it is impossible to locate the position of mobile missile systems. Now, however, Cheney does not merely want to hide the MX missiles but also single warhead missiles. He wants to put the latter on vehicles with cross-country mobility that are even more difficult to spot than trains. If this were not just the opinion of the new Pentagon chief, it would create serious problems for the continuation of the Geneva negotiations.

The new Pentagon chief also has given some thought to the financing of the weapon systems. The Pentagon must accept Congress' decision for the first time not to increase the U.S. arms budget in the new fiscal year. However, Cheney does not want to accept that in the future. He told Congress that it was a mistake to subordinate important defense problems to financial considerations.

Every U.S. Administration stands or falls with the problem of whether it succeeds in cutting the enormous deficits created by high armament costs that have already considerably undermined the economic strength of the United States. Has Cheney failed to see that handicap?

One must ask oneself why Cheney makes such efforts to catch up with the arms policy of the Reagan era, although Cheney made the remarkable statement that he tends to believe that Moscow is honestly trying to achieve a new disarmament treaty. However, instead of drawing consequences from that statement, the new Pentagon chief follows the policy of his predecessors. Washington must be very careful regarding the USSR, says Cheney.

What the new chief has said in the Pentagon is that he wants his private opinion to be considered because the Bush administration is still working on its foreign and security policy concepts, for which it has 100 days. However, what Cheney disclosed makes one doubtful, particularly at a time when intermediate-range nuclear missiles are being scrapped for the first time, and when a new attempt is made in Vienna to reduce armaments.

Krolikowski, CSSR Agriculture Minister Meet

LD2103221489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1651 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Measures to deepen and strengthen the effectiveness of cooperation in the spheres of agriculture and the food industry between the GDR and the CSSR were discussed in Berlin today by Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and Jaromir Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food. Cooperation should be extended in particular to the economy and to science and technology. Special attention is accorded to the application of key technologies, biotechnology, the use of microelectronics, and to robot technology. Werner Krolikowski confirmed during the talks that cooperative ownership has safe prospects in the GDR. The cooperative farmers and workers of socialist agriculture are making major efforts, together with scientists, through the intensification and application of scientific-technical progress and making advanced knowledge widely available, to achieve high returns and performance in plant production and livestock farming in order to ensure that there will be a steady supply of food to the people, and of agricultural and forestry raw materials to the economy. At the same time it is important to step up the contribution made by agriculture to increasing the national income.

Minister Jaromir Algayer's visit to the GDR will be of several days' duration.

Joint Economic Committee Talks With Hungary

AU2103142589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Mar 89 p 3

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The 26th meeting of the GDR-Hungary Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific Cooperation concluded in Berlin on Friday [17 March] with the signing of a joint protocol. The delegations were headed by Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Tamas Beck, trade minister of the Hungarian People's Republic. The talks focused on the implementation of the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Hungary up to the year 2000. On

this basis, the two sides stressed the consistent implementation of the jointly planned measures for implementing this long-term program in the period between 1986 and 1990, and beyond this, for the continuation of the dynamics in economic relations.

The partners in the talks noted that, on this basis, cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological field has further deepened and become an important factor for mutual relations. Starting out from the main directions of scientific-technological and economic cooperation, the economic committee discussed the state of specialization and cooperation, which are widely responsible for the exchange of goods. It was agreed to immediately use the available possibilities for the conclusion of further contracts, particularly for products in the field of microelectronics, in order to be able to effectively shape production and to satisfy demand in both countries.

Both sides noted that, based on contracts, scientific-technological cooperation can be further extended in the spheres of biotechnology, microelectronics, and plant breeding, and that there are possibilities for the conclusion of additional contracts. The development of direct relations between combines, enterprises, and institutes, which play a considerable role for the deepening of cooperation, have been assessed in a positive way by the economic committee.

The chairmen of the economic committee praised the continuous development of trade in 1988 and stressed that the annual protocol for 1989 is a good foundation for the further continuation of dynamic foreign trade relations.

The meeting of the economic committee received reports by its members on the subject of the level of cooperation in the fields of the glass and ceramics industry, as well as general machine construction, agricultural machines, and vehicle construction, and confirmed the proposed measures for deepening mutual relations. The talks were held in a friendly atmosphere.

'Excellent' Results of Leipzig Fair Viewed

AU2103142389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Mar 89 p 2

["D.B" commentary: "After 7 Days of Leipzig Fair: Full Order Books"]

[Text] On Saturday [18 March], at the close of the fair, one could hear the following statements: Leipzig has again been worth the journey. "Good," "very satisfactory," and "excellent" were the most frequent expressions used by the 9,000 exhibitors from all five continents to assess the course of the fair and the results that have been achieved.

Once more, the Leipzig Fair has lived up to its reputation, proving itself as a unique center of trade that promotes understanding among the peoples, as a vast trading place for the exchange of goods between the East and West, and as an excellent place for conducting political dialogue in the interest of peaceful coexistence. The internationality and the economic as well as scientific-technological attractiveness of the 1989 Leipzig Spring Fair may be viewed as further living proof of the high-level reputation that our republic, thanks to its consistent peace policy and its efficient national economy, which is characterized by stability and dynamism, enjoys worldwide as a reliable and predictable partner. Therefore, the reactions from exhibitors and politicians all over the world are understandable: It is everybody's own fault if he does not travel to Leipzig.

As far as business contracts are concerned that the combines and foreign trade enterprises in our republic concluded with partners from all over the world, above all with our most important partner, the Soviet Union—they are worth millions. Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil told NEUES DEUTSCHLAND that "after the conclusion of the fair, the volume of the combines' order books was larger than that of last year." This concerns contracts for 1989 and also beyond 1990.

The reason for this is the products that were exhibited at the Leipzig Fair. Our enterprises and combines offered a wide range of high-quality investment and consumer goods, scientific-technological results and technologies. The products offered by the machine tool industry, the electrical engineering and electronics industry are only one example. Both in these and other spheres the following was confirmed despite keen international competition: A considerable increase in exports to the advantage of our country can be brought about if key technologies are consistently developed and applied.

It is extraordinarily important to take this insight home from Leipzig. What is important now is to honor the contracts according to schedule, with the required range and the required quality. The experiences of Leipzig are also a guideline for the further development concerning the production and the sale of our combines. The fact that important decisions for the fulfillment of the 1989 plan and for the targets and tasks of the foreign trade enterprises in the coming years have been adopted by the Central Committee seminar with general managers prior to the start of the fair, will significantly enhance successful work.

Surplus in Trade With CEMA Countries Reported

AU2203101889 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 22 Mar 89 p 9

["cmk" report: "East Berlin Reports Surplus in Trade With CEMA Countries"]

[Text] Berlin, 21 March—The annual report of the GDR German Foreign Trade Bank (DABA) cites the GDR's turnover in trade with the West in 1988 as amounting to

$18.7 billion—$9.4 billion in exports and $9.3 billion in imports. Foreign trade with the socialist countries, which requires about two-thirds of the GDR's foreign trade capacity, achieved a surplus of 592 million transferable rubles.

Compared with the previous year—also according to DABA—the GDR exports to the other CEMA countries increased and imports remained the same. While trade with the Western industrial countries was almost balanced last year, an export surplus of $448 million had been achieved in 1987.

Of course, the DABA annual report cannot be compared with the business report of a Western institute. The balance sheet is limited to four positions on the assets side and five positions on the liabilities side. The accompanying text is not much more than a repetition of already known data on plan fulfillment; nevertheless, sometimes one can learn something new from this.

However, the reference to investments is not very instructive. In 1988 M85 billion was made available for social policy, housing construction, and industry. The year before one learned at least that M40 billion of a total investment volume of M75 billion had gone to industry.

A new item in the DABA report is a brief paragraph on environmental protection. According to this, 35 facilities for regaining and recycling valuable materials from waste water, air, and waste disposal sites were put into operation in the GDR in 1988. Biotechnological processes, including biological elimination of phosphates in waste water treatment and the biotechnological improvement of lakes and barrages, were applied more intensively.

Furthermore, the report says that 120 facilities for dedusting and 15 flue gas desulfurization facilities, mainly in small and medium-sized heating plants, were newly put into operation to keep the air clean, and resistant trees were planted on 3,590 hectares in order to stabilize the forests in areas that have been damaged by flue gas emissions.

German Communist Party Holds Federal Conference

AU2103122789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Mar 89 p 5

[Text] Duesseldorf (ADN)—Under the slogan "Europe to the People—Not to the Monopolies—Struggle Against Neofascism," a federal conference of the German Communist Party [DKP] took place in Duesseldorf on Sunday [19 March] for the preparation of the EC elections in June 1989, in which the DKP plans to participate with the federal list. In her speech, Deputy DKP Chairwoman Ellen Weber stressed the great responsibility of all of Europe for preserving peace and safeguarding international security. In the interest of safeguarding peace, the FRG has to take seriously the proposals of the socialist states, in particular the steps introduced for comprehensive unilateral disarmament, and to present its own proposals at the negotiating table.

Referring to the relations between the two German states, which are "of great importance for the climate in Europe," she noted that the Joint Communique on Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG is a good framework for them. The FRG Government, too, has pledged to act in line with the principles of good-neighborliness, equal cooperation, respect for sovereignty, and the principle that war must never again start from German soil. After the unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments by the GDR, Bonn is now forced to act.

Ellen Weber criticized the FRG Government's continuing interference in the GDR's internal affairs. "There is no reasonable alternative to the policy of dialogue and peaceful coexistence," she said. The DKP is struggling to make the FRG not a braker but a pacemaker of disarmament and cooperation. The arms projects that have recently become known show, however, that the Bonn politicians are sticking to their plans for missiles. There are still strong forces that want to prevent the process of disarmament.

The conference participants unanimously confirmed the proposal for the federal DKP list, which was submitted by the party's Executive Committee and comprises 78 candidates, including DKP Chairman Herbert Mies.

Christian Democratic Union Faces Election Loss

AU1503172889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 89 p 2

[Editorial by Horst Schaefer: "Stinging Defeat for CDU in Hesse—Red-Green on the Upswing—Dismay About Good Showing of Neonazis"]

[Text] The stinging defeat for the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the local elections in Hesse, particularly in Frankfurt (Main), the FRG's fifth-largest city, and the entry of neonazi parties to numerous local parliaments dominated public discussion in the FRG on Monday [13 March]. Initial statements by spokesmen in various CDU headquarters revealed the deep shock that has taken hold of the CDU leaders. Leading politicians of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and the Greens have expressed satisfaction at their own successes and dismay and concern about the increase of Neonazism.

As a matter of fact, all warnings against copying slogans of neonazis out of fear of new election defeats instead of fighting neonazism, which were disregarded until the last minute by the CDU leadership, have been confirmed. SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel reiterated this by claiming that the landslide defeat of the CDU in Frankfurt (Main) has shown that the hostility toward foreigners in the election campaign has only led to the "entry of the National Democratic Party [NDP] into the Frankfurt

City Council with an alarming result." Foreigners working and living in the FRG had demonstrated on election day for the right of foreigners to participate in elections, carrying banners with the slogans: "The right to vote is a human right" and "Foreigners: Allowed to work, to pay taxes, but not allowed to vote." The Greens Executive stated that with its "policy of social marginalization," the federal government has made possible the successes of the neonazis. With its "anti-foreign and anti-Semitic slogans," the CDU "acted as an aide to the NDP."

Heinz Gallinski, chairman of the FRG Central Jewish Council, also denounced the entry of neonazi parties into local parliaments in Hesse. He spoke of a "general tendency toward the right" and added that the fear had come true that the recent election results in Berlin (West) were not an isolated case, but that the increase in the number of neonazis represents "the trend of the FRG in the 40th year of its existence." This is a cause for deepest concern, he stressed.

At the same time, as a result of the elections in Hesse, support is strengthening, in Frankfurt (Main) in particular, where the SPD and the Greens jointly hold an overall majority, for a coalition between these two parties as an alternative to the dangerous rightist trend. The spokeswoman of the Greens in the Bundestag, Antje Vollmer, stated in this connection that the scare campaign against such an alliance has been "clearly and self-confidently rejected" by the citizens. She added: "Red-Green is on the upswing." SPD's Volker Hauff, the new mayor of Frankfurt (Main), announced that he will conduct negotiations with the Greens. He also wants to hold talks with the CDU whose policy he condemned at the same time, stating that it had made the NDP acceptable.

The broad support for a coalition between the SPD and the Greens in Frankfurt (Main) was also reflected at a spontaneous rally that was attended by over 3,000 antifascists and democrats on Sunday night [12 March] in front of the town hall of the metropolis on the Main. In chorus and on numerous banners, the demonstrators called for an antifascist-democratic alternative to the dangerous rightist course of the CDU and the ambitions for power of the neonazis. At the same time they demanded the immediate banning of neonazi parties.

Commentators in Bonn pointed out that the agitational slogans with which the CDU poisoned the election campaign in Hesse have not only been invented by this party's local politicians. The decisive impulses for this type of "election battle" emanated from Bonn: Chancellor Kohl's appearance shortly before the elections in Frankfurt (Main) made clear that he once more emphatically rejected the right of foreigners to participate in local elections. Desperately trying to divert attention from the disastrous housing situation, the health reform that does not take into account the interests of the workers, and from permanent mass employment, the CDU leadership resorted to all the old rules of anticommunist campaigning and of denouncing those who think differently, including the condemnation of a coalition between social democrats and the Greens, the discrimination against foreigners, and the defamation of the GDR. The election results in Hesse have shown that such a policy ends in a debacle.

FRG Periodical on SED Tolerance of Critics

AU2003223089 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 20 Mar 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "SED Officials Check State Security"]

[Text] Officials of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] have deliberately spread reports among people in Leipzig who want to leave the country that there is considerable tension between the comrades of the bezirk leadership surrounding First Secretary Horst Schumann and the old Stalinists in the party security apparatus. Schumann, who is concerned about the reputation of the city of fairs, for some time now has been dealing with regime critics, human rights activists and peace groups of the church, and people who want to leave the country much more cautiously than has been demanded by the bezirk administration of the Ministry for State Security (MfS). In doing so, he is protected by SED leader Erich Honecker in East Berlin.

On 15 January of this year, the day on which the SED commemorated Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, when State Security forces arrested 160 participants at a demonstration by 800 people, Schumann not only made sure that they were released quickly, but upon consultation with Honecker, he also pushed through the discontinuation of investigation proceedings against the alleged instigators.

The SED bezirk leader had demonstrated tolerance last fall. On 9 November, when after prayers for peace at Nikolai Church in commemoration of the reich's night of the pogrom in 1938 a demonstration went to the memorial stone at the place of the former synagogue, the people's police cleared the road for the silent protest march which had not been officially approved.

The moderate attitude of the Leipzig Bezirk secretary was particularly impressive last Monday [13 March], when it took the State Security forces 1 hour to stop the protest demonstration of about 600 people who want to leave the country—thanks not least of all to the Leipzig people's police. The officials in uniform not only checked the aggressive approach of the MfS forces; they even tried to protect Western camera teams from the State Security forces who kicked them.

The SED alone knows whether the moderate ways of Comrade Schumann will help to reduce the number of applications for exit permits. However, the SED has so far persistently refused to publish exact figures on those

citizens who do not want to live under its regime any longer. Speculations differ widely, ranging from 1.5 million, as reported by the Federal Intelligence Service in Pullach, to "less than 100,000," relatives included, as computed by East German church members, after the GDR authorities promised that 30,000 cases would be handled favorably by the end of April.

Film Director Comments on Neofascists in GDR

AU1803173989 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 18 Mar 89 p 1

[Karl-Heinz Baum dispatch: "Film Director Notes Increasing Fascism in the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin, 17 March—In the GDR the "danger of a new fascist movement, supported by the young people of our country" has become "conceivable," 47-year-old film director Konrad Weiss writes in an analysis about "young fascists in the GDR," which has now been published in the hectographed paper KONTEXT of the Evangelical Denomination Community in the East Berlin district of Treptow. Weiss reports that at the beginning of 1988 the number of young people in the GDR who are organized in fascist groups was estimated at 1,000. In the meantime, the potential has to be "estimated much higher": "The fascists are gaining followers." Vocational colleges are estimated to have two to three ultrarightists per class. The rightist scene is highly attractive to 14- to 15-year-olds.

Weiss describes two forms of groups: the skinheads, who strike the eye because of their martial appearance, and the "more dangerous groups" of the "Faschos," as they call themselves, who appear inconspicuous, seem to be adjusted, are good workers, but are secretly working "on their old-new ideology within closed circles." The "Faschos" are referring more clearly than the skinheads to Nazi ways of thinking. Both groups reject the socialist German state, the GDR.

The "Faschos" also have reservations against West German democracy, Weiss writes. They want the reestablishment of the German Reich within the borders of 1938. They refuse to leave the GDR and see their sphere of action much more "in removing socialist society and in the struggle for a unified Greater Germany." Their hatred is directed against the victorious powers of World War II, which destroyed the fascist state. It is known that they often travel to socialist countries. "Anti-Americanism" is spreading among them. Anti-Semitism and racism exist subliminally. "At the soccer fields and in the bars of the rightist scene anti-Semitic talk and jokes are natural anyway," Weiss writes.

Physical training and a healthy way of life belong to the program of the ultrarightists as well as personality cult and a comradely spirit. "Soldierly values" such as discipline, obedience, persistence, and reliability are being cultivated. There are test rituals such as "tests of courage": "cowardly, treacherous attacks on totally innocent people." On weekends some "cliques" are reported to meet in "downright defense training camps" or "carry out paramilitary exercises," Weiss writes.

Weiss considers the "double-talk" and "double-existence" of many people in the GDR the reason for the young people's turning toward the "Faschos." Criticism and independent thinking is not being awarded, but echoing others' statements and the ability to adjust. Young people who want to try other ways of life realize that they are treated as enemies of the state in the GDR. Therefore, reacting with violence is considered the panacea.

In order to immunize the young people against fascist thoughts, Weiss calls for "a new culture of public dialogue." "Our country needs freedom of thought and press and a wide range of uncensored media." Public democratic control of the organs that support power would give the young citizens more legal security and trust and would reduce aggressions.

Zuessow-Wolgast Railroad Line Electrified

AU2003211089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Mar 89 p 3

[Excerpt] Wolgast (ADN)—On Friday [17 March] the Zuessow-Wolgast railroad line opened to electrified railroad traffic earlier than had been planned, thus connecting it to the already electrified Berlin-Stralsund line. Within 2 and ½ months railroad, construction, postal, and energy workers electrified the 19 km-line to Usedom Island. [passage omitted]

Janos Berecz Discusses Party's Action Program

LD2203000789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1815 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Interview with Janos Berecz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Kalman Magyar, deputy rector of the Semmelweis University of Medical Science, in the studio by correspondents Elemer Csak and Janos Simko—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Good evening. In the studio we have an exchange of views about the action program of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], conducted by correspondents Elemer Csak and Janos Simko.

[Csak] [Passage omitted] The topic of our exchange of views is the interpretation, explanation, and reactions to the program made public in recent days by the MSZMP Central Committee. As befits a live, direct broadcast, the conversation will be informal, with a few minutes' musical interval for a break. The guests in our studio are Janos Berecz, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Kalman Magyar, deputy rector of the Semmelweis University of Medical Science. [passage omitted] First, a lightning question to you both: In so far as the body—that is to say party discipline—makes this possible, please tell us whether individually, as party members, you agree with everything contained in this program. Kalman Magyar?

[Magyar] We formulated the program, and I am a member of the Central Committee. I agree with what is contained in the program. No doubt there will be nuances in interpretation.

[Csak] Janos Berecz?

[Berecz] What I do not agree with is what was left out of the program. After all, it was a collective work. In a few places we, as the editing committee, formulated more, but after the debate it was left out.

[Simko] As my colleague Elemer Csak has already indicated, the MSZMP Central Committee program has now been out on the street, as we say, for roughly a week, and I assume that, counting even the feast days, in other words, Sunday and 15 March, there has been enough time for reaction to the party program to have come in. [passage omitted] So, after 1 week, what is the reaction to the program?

[Berecz] The party membership is in essence now acquainting itself with this program. It was they who fought for it; it was the party membership that wanted us to have a short-term program formulated under brief headings. It has to be digested. I would quote from three reactions today. I received one of these. It was titled: Our opinion—the opinion of the members of the reform circle of the County Bacs-Kiskun MSZMP membership. I am sorry that nobody has signed it, for a reform circle no doubt has a leader. One should no longer be afraid to sign such a document.

[Csak] It depends on the contents.

[Berecz] Its contents, to begin with, find fault with the fact that there is no unequivocal evaluation of the past, with sober responsibility. But this could not have been a task of this program; it merely (?made a promise to do this). It says what its virtues are, and then it criticizes the fact that there are mixed up within it long- and short-term program sections, which we also know; and it finds too few guarantees for implementation. As a matter of fact, they have not outlined any guarantees, either, with which they, as a party reform circle, wish to contribute to fulfilling the program.

From a small basic organization of a hotel I received an opinion saying that the action program had a good number of obscure points, but they invited a staff member of the Central Committee, they held discussions, and they are very grateful for this kind of live enlightenment. It is very useful. And the third one was a letter which a citizen wrote to me saying that he can see that we want there to be a multiparty system. He would like to found several parties, or a party, and asks what advice I, as someone versed in party work, can give him for founding a party.

[Simko] Would this mean that the letter writer has been excited by this program?

[Berecz] Well, probably, or at least that is what he writes. As for the opinions of the various organizations about the program, I can understand these, because in part they were surprised by the fact that we are ready and able to make such a formulation; and in part there are many similarities. That is to say, there is also confusion or question marks about how this came into being. And to only praise and acknowledge the program of others in a politically competitive situation is like criticizing and condemning one's own.

[Csak] Janos Berecz used the word surprise, but there are also some reactions which reflect that others consider this program to be overdue. After hearing the opinions of many MSZMP members, I have the feeling that the membership has to a certain extent been made uncertain by the fact that after the party conference the leadership has only come forward with this much in a short-term program. What is the reason for this?

[Berecz] The way we thought, and the way we explained it, is that on 2 June 1987 the Central Committee adopted a resurgence program. In September the National Assembly approved the government's stabilization program, in September 1987. In May 1988 the national party conference stand was prepared. We always emphasized that we have a program; we have a program. Yes,

but in the meantime the individual political institutions formulated short, clear, and virtually slogan-like programs. For this reason the party membership understood, or felt, that we have these big documents from which the essence has to be pared. We thought that now the membership had fought for this, that it had to be decided that there should be a short program, one formulated with section headings and an appropriate introduction and conclusion—a program that could be picked up and be clear to readers as soon as one looked at it.

[Simko] Yes, I think this expectation of the party membership is entirely understandable, for there is a large program competition in society. The comparison may not be too pleasant, but I would compare it to a kind of long-jump contest, where there are great preparations. The has also prepared matters, taken the jump, and this is the moment, let us say, when we are up in the air. We do not yet know how long our jump will be. If I employ another dimension, I could say that the party has overstepped things several times, has made a false start several times, and that its jump was either disqualified or not. So, a program competition has evolved. To come back to the starting question, a lot of people are asking why the action program has appeared just now. You recently said on television to Janos Horvath, or to be more precise, Janos Horvath asked you whether we should not have waited until there was one more Central Committee session; there was a huge number of questions and observations about the program. Let us rather put it like this: Why is it so late?

[Berecz] As far as the preparations are concerned, they were not tardy; they were prepared very quickly, on 7 March. It was not the February Central Committee session that decided that such a short-term program with brief headings was needed. We thought that we would put this before the Central Committee on 29 March, but the demand was such that we took it in on 7 March. It caused public surprise because the Central Committee took it to pieces. I will honestly say that I was glad about that. The Central Committee had created a program, and it decided that it would authorize the editing committee and the Politburo to bring it out on its behalf shortly. That is how it came out on 11 March. So, that is already a short time. As for our having prepared matters since last May, that was because we thought that we after all had a program.

[Csak] If I remember correctly, Janos Berecz said at the Central Committee session that up until then the energies had been taken up with the challenge of the turnabout. I would like to know what you had in mind, testings of strength within the party or outside the party?

[Berecz] Both, but first and foremost I was thinking of testings of strength within the party, because the May party conference had already formulated the need for a turnabout. What is more, it formulated the need for a radical turnabout, but as for its content, size, and tempo, these cannot be formulated by one or two persons; this required a repeated run-up by the entire Central Committee, and now, in February and March, of this year, the outlines of this already unfolded. [passage omitted]

[Simko] The new elements are by no means few. If we are speaking of a critical approach, a lot of organizations criticize this party program precisely insofar as the MSZMP has adopted certain of its elements from them.

[Magyar] I consider a value of the program to be that it is built on such broad bases. For centuries the program, in its essence, has been of two kinds: Either there appears in it the prohibitive quality built on the Mosaic points, or an even more difficult form of realization, the more democratic construction of the Greek city-states. Well, I think that our program is in fact a mixture of the two, and in this sense it is a third kind.

[Csak] Do you mean by this that there are still tablets of stone in the program?

[Magyar] I am thinking rather of its point-by-point nature, on the one hand, which recalls the Mosaic laws. In its explanations it is already a more democratic form. [passage omitted]

[Csak] At one time we were taught that these concepts such as freedom and justice are historical categories, and that the content of these concepts changes with the change of social systems. Now, what does the MSZMP today understand as being freedom and justice?

[Berecz] First of all, it has to be said that while we call this an action program, it is not only that. It appears from this that the MSZMP is now lacking a long-term program formulating the basic values and basic principles. That is being prepared by a Central Committee working committee; a working group is preparing it. A little time is needed for that, for analyzing our past, drawing the lessons, taking our values one by one, and pointing forward. An action program cannot be formulated without a few basic values because otherwise it will hang in the air. Here the MSZMP identifies itself, because the MSZMP profile formulated here is not the same as it was yesterday or the day before yesterday; because it has changed in a good many things, or on the other hand, because it unequivocally states that it wants socialism, democratic socialism, and it considers creative work be the basic value of democratic socialism. Nowadays very little is said in our country about work; everybody takes as the starting point the assumption that this work will begin with the development of the system of political institutions, with the realization of political democracy. It will not. Creative work has to be dealt with separately.

Freedom today means that we are creating a constitutional state and that we are bringing a new constitution into being. This is what it means concretely in our country today. For we have new laws, virtually month by

month, which concretely guarantee and make possible one or another freedoms, or the exercise of these rights. Justice means confronting that which in our hitherto practice was distortion or one-sidedness; among other things it means an autonomous and independent judiciary. As for social solidarity, we formulated it with a little bit of pain, because the sense of interdependence seems to have diminished a little. With the appearance of multicoloredness, the nation is becoming a little bit differentiated not only in organization but also perhaps in feeling and content. Without solidarity and inner interdependence, we cannot expect much respect from outside the country, either. This is what the MSZMP would like to strengthen.

[Simko] Yes. I think we ought to come back to a very important concept, that of the word socialism, which is one of the three significant factors of the subtitle, I believe. This is obviously one of the identifying factors of the MSZMP. Can the socialist definition, or the socialist concept, be given today? In other words, when we talk about the type of creative work that is needed, can we then provide the ideology to accompany the concept of socialism?

[Berecz] As the building of socialism is a very long-term and historical process, and as it is evident that its interpretation is always going to be shaped as it proceeds, we do not now want to form or formulate a picture of socialism. So, there will be no stone tablets in this field. On the other hand, those ideas and endeavors which guide us today—such as for example, to retain the collective nature of society, but to build it on the assertion of individual rights; to keep the representation and respect of all-national interests but to do so not by repressing individual interests but rather by coordinating them; and a good number of other things, such as the determining role of collective property, communal property in the change of social ownership; the assertion of interests in the creation of a democratic state; and so on and so forth—it is these things which today directly constitute our endeavor toward socialism. [passage omitted]

[Csak] Can we expect the long-term program to outline and determine these concepts, and in any case, is the elaboration of the short-term program in harmony with that of the long-term program?

[Berecz] I do not want to split hairs, but we accept that it will outline them, but not that it will determine them. So, I welcome the question because it allows me to point this out. There is a need to outline the concepts, but values become impoverished or enriched in practice; they change. So, we can not commit ourselves to a once-and-for-all interpretation of values. Values have to be formulated, by which we mean the progress toward socialism. From this point of view the long-term program will certainly set limits. It is in harmony because in its final formulation and form of approval those people also took part who are working on the long-term program. We took it as our point of departure that at least this possibility cannot be excluded from the point of view of the future.

[Csak] Thank you. Let us take a short break. [music]

[Simko] I suppose everyone who has studied the program has picked out a key phrase. I did, too, and I would like to ask our guests about this. In the introductory part of the program, the following appears: The MSZMP is the unified party of two determining communist and social democratic directions of the workers movement, which beyond class points of view, is a reform party of Marxist spirit which expresses the interests of the working, creative people. I think this is a significant turnabout in the MSZMP's stand, for, from a Marxist-Leninist party headed by the working class, it has now become a reform party of Marxist spirit, one that is above class points of view.

[Csak] I think, and I am not alone, for I have spoken to party members, that perhaps this sentence is contradictory, for does a Marxist party exist without a class point of view? Janos Berecz:

[Berecz] Well, if we approach it from a theoretical point of view, then I have to say that the phrase Marxist spirit is definitely justified, for earlier, we were too much in the shackles of -isms and in the shackles of the -isms being created only by classical or declared classical commanders. Lenin considered himself a Marxist, a Marxist spirit. I suppose he would not really have wanted to found Leninism, for he interpreted and applied Marxism to the conditions in Russia and created general, scientific thoughts taken from practice, which are also valid and valuable today. This is one thing.

So, we would like to be Marxist in spirit, adding that we must turn to account the intellectual values of every tendency of the workers movement, value these, and our own, too. It was not a good thing that Bukharin received so little respect for his thoughts, even if today a good many of his valuable thoughts cannot now be taken into account in that way. This is one source.

The other source is that the MSZMP must now really prove in practice that it is a unified party. This unification was too one-sided; the communist wing not only strengthened but unfortunately rather eliminated its domestic line, as well as the social democratic line, from the party and the spirit of the party instead of building on it; and there are indeed a good many traditions that must be built upon. Now, I would say that we are working amid such circumstances, the development of our society is such that the all-national or peoples' interests have now come so close to each other that although there are interests which diverge by social class or strata, these are not so individually marked that the

MSZMP can only be the party of just one class. We can represent and convert the interests of the widest strata of the workers. This is why we say that we would go beyond class points of view.

[Simko] Is it not possible that what is happening here is a search for a base, that the MSZMP wants to create a base?

[Berecz] Base? (?Well), given that workers party is in our name, we would like to preserve this. The MSZMP's agrarian policy has attained quite a wide base among the peasant class and also among the agrarian intelligentsia. The direction in which we wish to open up is primarily that of the wider strata of the intelligentsia. Freedom of platform—this will be discussed later, not in this program—is particularly necessary because the intelligentsia do not feel comfortable in one party if they all have to think alike. Their task is precisely to think, to create values, to accumulate intellectual treasures, to give these to the party. So we definitely wish to open up in this direction, and also toward entrepreneurs. If we support ventures and entrepreneurs, then we can expect a section of the entrepreneurs to be sympathetic toward us.

[Csak] In the course of the debate, or when you were working out the program, to what extent or with what emphasis were guarantees mentioned? Some people say that this program contains a lot of wishes and few references to how these goals can be attained.

[Magyar] I think that there can be agreement on the formulation of the aims. We will still have debates on how to realize them. In my opinion, one part of the guarantees is that it is in the course of the debates on the realization, that the possibility of the realization of an individual point or aim will be clarified. [passage omitted]

[Berecz] I would add to the guarantees that in the original draft, this question did not appear. The question of guarantees in our program was put in on the basis of the Central Committee debate. There was also a significant debate on what can guarantee a program, and the conclusion was: only people, people's organizations, and people's actions. So, we should not write that there is some kind of economic basis, but rather, only that which is in direct contact with the people, for without action, it cannot be realized.

I would add one thing: It would seem that this is made up of slogans, but the guarantee is that here, slowly, behind each one, individual guarantees appear either as a government program, a party standpoint, or a draft law. The government is now holding talks on our long-term international economic openness. It will shortly issue a document of this nature. The MSZMP recently issues the agrarian theses. There are several debates underway in the party about internal party matters. Social policy will soon be put before the government, then employment policy and the measures connected with it. So these, broken down, must be converted into action.

[Csak] If this program can be so widely interpreted, and for the moment it is waiting to be filled with content, then from what point will it become compulsory for the party membership?

[Berecz] What also is new in this program is that we do not want—nor is it possible—to make it compulsory so that everyone immediately identifies with every point. We would like every party member to see what is most easily or most quickly attainable for them, or what efforts he will make to realize this or that. Every party organization would decide on what must and can be done in its area. In addition to this, on the basis of their experience, they would add their voice to it, for we say that this must be a continually changing program. If we have realized something, then it is checked off; if something new comes along which must be dealt with or the party organizations advise this, then we must be open. However, for example, the question of a clean public life, well, this is long term.

[Csak] Was the alternative discussed at the Central Committee session that perhaps the party membership will not accept this program?

[Berecz] Not in so many words, that it would not accept it, but that it might again receive it with antipathy, that it would say: Once again they have formulated a program without us. However, the conclusion then follows that it is the Central Committee's obligation to provide some sort of framework. If it does not do so, then how will this become a program? We cannot say that everyone should write down their wishes and then we will summarize them, but that we now see a possibility for action in this; so tell us now whether to throw it out, cross it off, or add it—that is, contribute to it, so that at the same time the [word indistinct] of the realization will be ready. So a framework was needed for this. This is such a framework.

[Csak] I would like to return to the guarantees for a moment. Many answers are owed to the questions concerning what guarantees the MSZMP program. I think that each individual answer is important, but I would like to pick one out from among these: a party capable of action. I would like us to discuss the state of the party. I think that this party is not really capable of action today. In our own environment, but also in my career traveling about the country, I meet very many confused, dejected, and shameful party members who have a sort of limping mentality. Perhaps it is no accident that they behave this way. I think that individual people also bear the stamp or burden of these 40 years, some proudly, of course, and some perhaps with their eyes cast down.

[Simko] Does Kalman Magyar confirm or deny this?

[Magyar] I do not deny this. I think that the situation of the party today really is not completely favorable. As a matter of fact, this program we have undertaken, this kind of openness, this more pluralistic way of functioning, the competition situation, is lived out by a part of

the party membership as a defeat, partly because [word indistinct] strata in the party want peace and stability, and now they are discerning a kind of upsurge in our world today. I however, still believe that our fates must be clarified with hard, purposeful political work, so that this party membership does not stand alongside the realization of a program with its eyes downcast and shameful. After all, who wants to follow a party that works with its eyes cast downward?

[Csak] The program also set out that one of the first conditions for guaranteeing the program is a party capable of action.

[Berecz] Well, a person can get into a crisis not just as a member of society, as citizen, but also as a party member. I am now living through a crisis—my own internal crisis of confidence, and a crisis of intellect and experience, as well—for the second time as a party member. The first time, in 1956-57, I was able to overcome things more quickly, for there was more enthusiasm then, less experience, and thus (?trust put me) very quickly onto the MSZMP line, and I, too, began to take action, as did others.

Now, however, with more experience, with greater responsibility, this takes longer. One must take many things into account. If one can get over this crisis more quickly and find the possibility of action, then this is the only way leading out. Living with eyes downcast and brooding will never result in a way out, but if I overcome these—not in the way that I have not experienced these, for I have experienced these and drawn lessons from them—and then say: Well, I now have been given the possibility of action. I want to escape this crisis through action, to adhere to the key sentence that features in the program, that the direct aim of the MSZMP is to conquer the crisis—then we will be dealing with a party on the ascent, with a more self-confident party.

[Simko] You have partly answered my question of what you personally consider to be most important for implementing the program. Kalman Maygar:

[Magyar] I think the party must go over to a movement kind of work, and this aspect of a movement also means that with politically convincing work we are seeing to it that our party members do not embark upon realizing this program in a dejected manner. I think we have the power to bring the ranks of the intelligentsia to our side in the whole of this work, and that these also ultimately serve the guarantee that can result in the realization of the program.

[Simko] What is this party program for? Many things have been raised recently, that this is a crisis-management program, perhaps even a party election program, perhaps a counter program compared to other organizations, or a program creating unity. If this is so, then what kind of unity?

[Berecz] Well, I would say it is all of these. The crisis must be conquered to realize the program to construct democatic socialism. So, this is also crisis management. What is more, it states things that few people these days write down in this kind of program, that the burdens must also be divided equally. We wrote this down with great inner tension.

It is creating unity, too, because it acknowledges that there are varying currents in the party, and even in maintaining the operating rights and possibilities of all these currents, the unity of action is still needed.

It is also forward looking because it contains a good many tasks that a government member, or somebody in factory management or a social organization, or a party member working directly in a party organization can make his own. He can pick out that which can immediately be realized there, on the spot. And if we turn in the direction of action, then we really will climb out of this situation.

[Csak] Can the debate on this program bring forward the planned party congress? That is, can there be an extraordinary congress?

[Berecz] I would like to say one thing about an extraordinary congress, or any kind of conference. In my opinion there is no such thing as an extraordinary congress. When a congress needs to be held, then it must be held, but it is an old, deep-rooted idea that we hold congresses every 5 years. If it is not in held in the 5th year, then it is an extraordinary congress. If the political, social, or economic situation requires a party congress, then it must be held, and it must be held as the next congress due.

However, I can imagine—for you asked whether there was perhaps an election program in it—this in itself cannot be an election program. If, perchance, some kind of election should come about, either now or in a year or in 6 months—this depends on the political situation of the moment—then I can imagine a conference that would create a national election program which would in 1 day compile the most important aims, and the whole of the party would go to bat for it. So, we are changing from this point of view, and building on this. We can handle ourselves, and reality, more flexibly.

[Simko] There was mention here of party unity, which has become something rather mystical, which we would like to replace with a new kind of unity. There also was mention here of the election program, but I wonder that when the time comes for the long jumpers to jump, how would you rate the MSZMP's chances and the length of its jump?

[Berecz] Thank you for asking this, for there is no reporter, no matter where he comes from, who does not ask whether this is a party that is giving up itself and its position, a party in withdrawal, and what will happen if

it is voted out. Well, if a party does not want to win, then it is not a party. If a party leader says from the outset that we will be beaten, then it is better for him to leave the line of battle. Battle must be always be entered with a spell and the hope of victory, and a hard struggle must be waged for it. I believe that we can win. We can win over the majority of Hungarian society.

[Csak] Kalman Magyar?

[Magyar] I think the MSZMP will sweat out from itself the solutions in the coming period. Referring back to the previous question, I feel that the questions listed are questions creating unity, but the method of realization still will provoke a great many debates. I believe that these debates will be of a purifying nature and that the MSZMP, in which I find the intellectual capacity needed to realize this whole question, will indeed do it. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Horvath on Democratization

AU2003205089 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Mar 89 p 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Horvath in Budapest by ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent Grzegorz Lubczyk: "We Are Seeking Ways Out"; date not given]

[Text] [Lubczyk] How do you view the situation in your country?

[Horvath] A lot depends on who you ask. I can say that Hungary has seen more peaceful years. Today the situation all over the world, especially the changes in some socialist countries, is not being assessed clearly. We also are seeking answers to many basic questions. Because these questions are so important, our search is a nervous one at times, which is probably understandable. We are seeking various ways out of the present situation. It often happens that some trust us and others do not, which means that changes cause hope in some people and fear in others.

However, there is no doubt that the previous leadership did not leave the Hungarian economy in the best condition. We are all suffering today because of the incorrect economic decisions made over the last 10-15 years. What is sadder than anything else is that after years of tangible progress and development in certain spheres, there is now stagnation, and even regression. However, the world is not waiting for us. By standing still, we are falling behind. So the new leadership has commenced its work in a difficult situation.

[Lubczyk] How is it possible that although the new associations act is still not in force in Hungary, new organizations are declaring their existence almost every day?

[Horvath] To be more precise, there already is an associations act. However, there was no room for the new groups in it, and there was no legal way to register them. One cannot view the lively process of creating new associations, organizations, and unions in terms of dry legal paragraphs. In other words, a great social revival of organizations is not a question of law, but rather of politics and civic initiative. Assuming that Hungarian society is a long way away from being unified, we have started to lay down principles that are better suited to new needs.

[Lubczyk] Your ministry has displayed a great deal of patience.

[Horvath] First of all, the authorities have perceived no threat to the existence of the state, and second, it was necessary to adopt a completely new style of action at a time when there is no monopoly on power. It seems that the best way to solve current tensions and conflicts is for the authorities to possess a suitable social base or to conclude what is called in Poland a "social contract." That is why the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party must understand other people's interests and talk to people with whom it seemed impossible to talk yesterday. Of course this involves various risks to calm and to the social order. The future structure of political forces will be determined by a brand-new party program. If the party wishes to continue to lead society, it must gain society's support and make society follow it.

[Lubczyk] Because of their decisions, the latest Central Committee plenums are considered a breakthrough in the further development of events in Hungary. Do you agree?

[Horvath] Those party debates were indeed important. What is most important is that, following stormy discussions, we reached the following conclusion: We will devote our entire effort to reforms, in the broadest sense of the word. The process of change, initiated by the party conference last May, must be speeded up and made more radical. This is also why the Central Committee examined a draft of a new constitution and began nationwide discussions on it.

The point of departure is a final break with the Stalinist political model. We want to make our country free and democratic, but also socialist. We are redrafting and reestablishing the role of the state and society's place in it, and we are concentrating mainly on civil rights.

[Lubczyk] So it is not just the Hungarian National Assembly that is in for a lot of work.

[Horvath] We are trying to rekindle society's hopes. That is essential. Indeed, our deputies will not be able to complain of boredom.

Kulcsar on Multi-Party System, Constitution

AU2103120689 Budapest MTI in English 1637 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 19/03/1989—Hungarian Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar discussed the new Hungarian constitution and the multi-party system under realization in Hungary in the Saturday [18 March] evening foreign political programme of British commercial television's channel 4. In answer to a remark that there are strong doubts both in Hungary and abroad on whether the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] is serious about the introduction of the multi-party system, its renouncing its leading role, and the holding of free elections, Mr Kulcsar said:

'One cannot be surprised at this doubt, as an opening is taking place in Hungarian political life which is completely new if we look at the history of the past 20 to 30 years, or even the past almost 50 years. I believe, what's more, it is my conviction that... it is the sincere intention of the HSWP leadership to give up the monopoly of power. In the course of preparing the draft constitution, we comprehensively discussed this question, and my impression, on the basis of this, is that the only solution to ensure the development of Hungarian society is to create a multi-party system.'

With respect to the new parties and unions coming into existence in Hungarian home political life, Mr Kulcsar noted: 'At present, these are rather groups that exert pressure, which try to influence power and the exercising of power, but do not, for the time being, wish to possess power'.

Varkonyi Interviewed Following UK Visit

LD1803050189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister has ended his London talks. Zsuzsa Simonsics spoke to Peter Varkonyi at the airport a short while ago:

[Varkonyi] I have a strong, long-standing friendship with British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe. I told him that in my opinion, the world has changed in this regard, that a great era is beginning to close here, and that a new era is beginning. Even if many people do not recognize it, the postwar period is over. That is how it seems to me, anyway.

[Simonsics] Margaret Thatcher has already visited our country. As far as I know, we have issued an invitation to Queen Elizabeth.

[Varkonyi] There is also an invitation to Margaret Thatcher. We discussed the fact that Premier Miklos Nemeth will go there for a working visit in the 2d half of this year. This is also a very important occasion for taking up relations. There is also an invitation to Queen Elizabeth. She would like to come, but for the time being, for the foreseeable future, she has a full calendar. On the other hand, Mrs Thatcher indicated to me that it is possible that the prince of Wales and his wife will visit Hungary in May 1990—in other words, the crown prince and his wife, (?which likewise will be) an outstanding event in Hungarian-British relations.

Janos Lukacs Views Recent Talks in GDR

LD2103002489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Interview with Central Committe Secretary Janos Lukacs by Gyorgy Nika; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Nika] As for your talks in the GDR, from the reports and from what you have said, it transpired that you dissipated anxieties. What issues did the GDR side bring up?

[Lukacs] They object not to our methods but rather to the solutions, because there are significant discrepancies in these between the two countries. They believe that they are building socialism in the GDR's colors, and they do not object to our doing this as well. The anxieties concerned whether the processes begun in Hungary can be kept under control, whether or not they will lead to anarchy, whether it is socialism that is being built in Hungary, or whether one can come across political efforts of a different content as well. The negotiating partners formulated matters in a very circumspect, measured manner.

[Nika] So, these were not criticisms, but—to put it nicely—rather concerns.

[Lukacs] Yes, because both countries profess the basic principle that every party is responsible to its own people for its policies.

[Nika] There are (?fairly) serious differences, are there not, in the political lines of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]? And in our country, changes can also be expected after the elections, or within a year or 2, but not in the GDR. What possibility do you think these two things offer for future cooperation?

[Lukacs] The GDR has essentially been equipped for a multiparty system; apart from the SED, four other parties operate. However, these parties function on the soil of the affirmation of socialism; they are sharers in power.

[Nika] They are the allies of the ruling power, in other words.

[Lukacs] Yes. Now then, they are just now preparing for a local authority election, and this is already of interest to us, for finding methods and means of solutions. From such a viewpoint, a meeting of thit kind is useful, and it provides an opportunity for us to learn from each other in the matter of solutions.

Requirement To Endorse PPF Program Denounced

LD2203041189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] It was the resignations of deputies that suggested to one of the largest new Hungarian political organizations the idea that National Assembly deputies should now not have to accept the program of the Patriotic People's Front [PPF] in writing. The Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD] demands that the passage be fully eradicated from the present electoral law according to which candidates running for deputy seats must accept the PPF program in writing. The body has publicized its stand in light of the fact that several deputies have lately renounced their mandates, and that several political organizations want to put forward candidates for the seats left vacant, for example, for that of Szeged Deputy Antal Apro.

The AFD believes that this requirement in general violates the rights of political freedom, and that it is also meaningless to make a declaration of loyalty to the PPF as the movement's new program is only now being elaborated. In connection with the resignations, the AFD believes that the vacant deputy seat should be filled in each case by by-elections.

Number of Bomb Threat Hoaxes Increasing

LD2203094489 Budapest MTI in English 2036 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 21 (MTI)—During the last two months, the Hungarian police have had to deal with betwen 90 and 100 bomb scares a week, all of which proved to be hoaxes.

Interior Ministry sources say that previously—since the beginning of the 1980s—the callers threatened party, state and social institutions, mostly in connection with official and political holidays. Recent targets, however, have included schools, hospitals and industrial companies, causing panic and occasional economic damage.

Student Union Holds Demonstration in Poznan

LD2103190489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] News from Poznan—here is Alicja Ciechowska:

[Ciechowska] Several hundred people took part in a demonstration organized by the (?local) Independent Students' Union [NZS]. The city authorities granted permission for the demonstration on Mickiewicz Square until 1530.

A later attempt to march to Wolnosci Square was prevented as the procedures associated with the closure to traffic had not been carried out between Mickiewicz Square and Wolnosci Square. In addition the militia did not give permission for traffic in the town center to be blocked.

By doing this the demonstration, whose participants were demanding changes in the law on higher education and carrying banners with the names of the NZS, the confederation of Independent Poland, and Fighting Solidarity, turned into an illegal demonstration that ended before 1700.

Militia Stops Unlawful March

LD2203091289 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Several hundred people have taken part in a demonstration organized in Poznan by Independent Students Union [NZS]. The authorities consented to a rally at Mickiewicz place until 1530. An attempt to march later to Wolnosci Square was foiled as there had been no application to halt traffic en route. In this connection, the militia stopped the marchers. In effect, their rally, during which changes in the law on higher education were demanded, and banners were carried with slogans: NZS, KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland], and Fighting Solidarity, turned into an illegal demonstration. It ended half an hour ago.

'Orange Alternative' Group Demonstrates in Lodz

LD2203094189 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] A demonstration by the Orange Alternative [Wroclaw group specializing in street happenings to poke fun at communist authorities and to ridicule city police] was held today [21 March] in Lodz city center. A leaflet said: In a truly revolutionary act we will fulfill our dreams of making a resolute stand against enemies of the party. Come with a brush and a bucket and join us in a cleaning job. I have to say that there were not too many brushes and buckets, and not many people joined the cleaning. But there were a lot of onlookers who wanted to see what the movement represents.

This is the fourth such demonstration by the Orange Alternative this year, and I believe the largest. In shouted slogans and banners, everybody was the target—all political forces from the PZPR to the Confederation of Independent Poland. Everybody was attacked, including the roundtable. I asked some people what they thought about the happening, and most of them expressed friendly interest.

The demonstration ended at about 1630.

Krakow Youths Hold Peaceful Ecological Rally

LD2203042689 Warsaw PAP in English 2352 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Krakow, March 21—The first day of spring, falling today, which is also an international anti-nuclear day, became an occasion for staging a youth rally in the main market square here.

The rally was organised at the permission of the Krakow municipal authorities by, among others, the ecological-peace movement "Wole Zyc" (I Prefer To Live), Federation of Greens.

The youth, mainly high school students dressed in appropriate costumes, demonstrated under the slogan "Less atoms—more houses". The rally was accompanied by pop groups, open were the stands with healthy food, especially with different kinds of salads and ecological happenings.

Gdansk Transport Workers Strike, Demand Pay Raise

LD2103232389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Almost 400 workers from the Domestic Trade Transport Enterprise did not start work today in Gdansk. The workers from 2 out of 11 provincial branches of the enterprise in Kartuzy and Starogard Gdanski are also participating in the strike. The strikers are demanding a wage increase. The strike in Gdansk has caused disturbances to supplies to food shops. Talks on the drivers returning to work have so far not brought positive results.

Roundtable Mining Subteam Holds Final Meeting

LD2103224289 Warsaw PAP in English 2204 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—The roundtable subteam for mining convened for its ninth and last meeting here today with Marian Gustak, Rajmund Moric and Alojzy Pietrzyk in the chair.

The final meeting brought a number of settlements, the protocol also featuring divergent stands where full agreement was impossible to reach.

Regarding the question of worktime, economic-financial system, wages, management and self-managements in mining, the team endorsed the principle of a five-day working week, allowing work on Saturdays in the transitional period in view of the difficult economic situation in Poland, but on a fully voluntary basis. The sides concerned presented separate proposals of concrete solutions in this regard.

As for the direction of restructuring in mining, the coalition-government side determined that in view of miners striving for a five-day working week, it is necessary to close down the most uneconomic pits and those having the most detrimental effect on the natural environment. Part of miners employed in such pits are planned to be redeployed to other mines which would work in a six-day rhythm, but with miners working five days a week.

The opposition-Solidarity side came out for uneconomic or polluting mines to be liquidated should recovery-oriented proceedings bring no results. Liquidation would follow an objective cost-benefit analysis based on real prices, and consultation with trade unions and working crews. In the case of liquidation, cushioning measures will have to be undertaken with regard to workers and their families.

The OPZZ for its part was firmly against liquidation of mines in view of the absence—as it was put—of objective criteria of assessing effectiveness in mining.

As for lignite strip mines, the team said that the reforming of the economic and financial system should start with changes in fixing the prices of lignite.

The team also made settlements on rock mining, extraction of chemical raw materials and environmental protection.

Rakowski Visits Kuwait, Meets Prime Minister

LD2103230389 Warsaw PAP in English
2222 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Kuwait, March 21—Poland's Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, now on an official visit here, held numerous meetings and talks today including one with Amir of Kuwait Sheykh Jabir al-Sabah. All his meetings today, like the one with Kuwaiti Prime Minister Sheykh Sa'd al-Sabah, were of a business-like and direct character.

Premier Rakowski's talks here focus mainly on ways of using possibilities to increase mutual trade turnover and that issue was also considered during the premier's meeting with the amir of Kuwait.

Next, Premier Rakowski met with Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Sheykh Sa'd al-Sabah. After the meeting plenary talks, chaired by both premiers, were held. Mieczyslaw Rakowski presented the socio-political and economic situation in Poland stressing the objective character of comprehensive and radical reforms in his country which is a warrant that these are not transitory changes but ones aimed at creating stable premises for effectiveness and initiative conducive to satisfying social needs.

Conveying his regards to Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prime minister of Kuwait thanked Poland for her consistent, stable and full of understanding policy towards the problems of the Arab world. We are ready, he stressed, to use in practice numerous possibilities for increasing advantageous cooperation.

Premier Rakowski's talks with Kuwaiti officials were of a more detailed character. The prime minister received President of Kuwaiti Chamber of Commerce and Industry 'Abd al-Sagir, Minister of Oil Sheykh 'Ali al-Sabah, Minister of Finance and Economy Jassim al-Kharafi and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Sheykh Sabah al-Sabah.

Late in the evening the premier of Kuwait gave a dinner in honour of Poland's prime minister.

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski will end his visit to Kuwait on Wednesday.

Further Reportage

For Baghdad accounts of the visit to Iraq by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, including talks with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, a news conference, and the signing of a cooperation agreement, see the Iraq section of the 20 March NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Mlynczak Concludes Talks, Visit to Moscow

LD2103234189 Warsaw PAP in English
2236 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 21—Vice-president of the Council of State, Chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee Tadeusz Mlynczak, who came to Moscow to attend the congress of cooperatives' members, ended his Moscow visit today.

At today's meeting with the First Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Anatoliy Lukyanov, Mlynczak characterized the situation in Poland, the transformations underway there and the course of the roundtable talks.

Lukyanov emphasized the need to deepen cooperation of the parliaments of both countries. He pointed out that the transformations ongoing in Poland are observed in the USSR with great interest, and some Polish experiences are of help to the process of perestroyka in the USSR. While discussing the problems of Soviet citizens of Polish descent, Lukyanov told Mlynczak about preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on nations and nationalities of the USSR, to be held in mid-1989.

Polish-USSR Chamber of Commerce Established

LD2203110289 Warsaw PAP in English
1850 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Representatives of 40 enterprises set up a Polish-Soviet chamber of commerce and industry at a general founding assembly here today. The assembly confirmed the statute of the chamber and elected its authorities. President of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade Tadeusz Zylkowski became its chairman. The chamber has its headquarters in Warsaw and

its representation in Moscow. It will have its branches in the capitals of the following Soviet republics: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia and the Ukraine.

Addressing the assembly, Zylkowski said that over 350 Polish and Soviet factories and organizations have already established direct economic contacts. He stressed that it was necessary now to step up this cooperation and it was exactly this purpose that the setting up of the chamber would serve.

The chamber will give assistance in establishing contacts, conveying information about legal regulations and economic reports, and give consultation and analyses, he stated.

Council of Ministers Holds 15 Mar Session

AU2103131489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Mar 89 p 4

[PAP headline: "The Council of Ministers Meets"]

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that the Council of Ministers met on 15 March under the chairmanship of Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

The government assessed the economic and political situation in the country and the results produced by the "roundtable" to date. The council reviewed draft legislation concerning associations, amendments to the law on trade unions, and a trade union for individual farmers.

The Council of Ministers made the following decisions: the Council of Ministers assessed the implementation of the "Main Government Tasks Concerning Youth for the Years 1987-90." It described further actions in this area aimed at achieving the full implementation of the program. They cover a wide range of tasks concerning ways of improving the material position of young families, housing, work adjustment, promoting those who are the most able, conditions for young people in the countryside, the expansion of education and educational processes, the use of free time, combating social wrongdoing, and the expansion of economic initiatives.

In order to protect the standard of living of young people, they will have a preferential status in social policy and in loan policy, and the production of articles for children and young people will be increased. Eligibility for family benefit payments has been extended, the level of family benefits has been increased, the assistance provided to children who have foster parents has been increased, the ceiling for payments out of the alimony fund has been raised, a social pension has been introduced, the principle of annually reviewing the level of material assistance provided to students is being implemented, and the value of the loans provided to young married couples has been increased. The absence of a stable market in goods for infants and children is a serious obstacle to assisting young people. A large range of articles of this kind is covered by government orders, but there are still serious shortages. Additional solutions will be formulated for improving the situation in this area.

An improvement in the housing situation for young people should be produced by the introduction and preparation of institutional solutions concerning the acquisition of sites, the supply of construction materials, and the financing of housing construction. The regulations governing the exchange of apartments and the acquisition of attics for housing purposes will be simplified and the regulations concerning sponsorship of construction work by young people will be amended.

Conditions relating to initial career opportunities will be improved. This particularly applies to first jobs, work adjustment, and use of young people's vocational qualifications. A new career counseling system has been adopted, improvements have been made to the careers information provided to young people, a system for promoting gifted college graduates has been established, a program for universal training in computer science for young people has been introduced. Long-term tasks include creating equal initial career opportunities for young people from both the towns and the countryside in a way that takes account of the needs of the country until the end of the 20th century. Legal, administrative, organizational, and material conditions will be created with a view to promoting individual economic and social initiative on the part of young people.

The Council approved and decided to submit to the Sejm a report on law observance and the implementation of legislation aimed at combating pathological phenomena.

The number of crimes committed has declined. In 1988, 6.5 percent fewer crimes were committed than in the previous year. The crime rate has fallen. Criminal proceedings were instituted with respect to 13.2 percent fewer adults and 10.3 percent fewer minors. The number of burglaries in public buildings fell, as did the number of serious assaults. However, there has been an increase in the number of burglaries committed on private property.

A pleasing development is the reduction in the number of crimes committed while under the influence of alcohol. This is related to an overall decline in alcohol consumption in Poland. There has been an 8.2-percent decline in the number of crimes involving the performance of work duties following the consumption of alcohol. An increasingly resolute approach on the part of plant managers has contributed to an almost 50-percent decline in the consumption of alcohol at the workplace. There has also been an 11.9-percent decline in the crimes described in the law on proceedings against people who shirk work.

Crimes committed by minors are one of the most disturbing forms of social wrongdoing. Although there has been a marked decline in all the categories of crimes committed by young people, the very existence of these phenomena is a source of anxiety. It is linked to a complex process of social change, material disparities, and a decline in the standing of existing educational institutions and the home.

These factors also create an atmosphere that is conducive to drug abuse. Cooperation between various state institutions and social organizations has helped bring about a 3.2-percent decline in the number of registered drug addicts and an approximately 10-percent decline in the number of cases of drug-related poisoning. The cultivation of poppies and hemp has declined, and more effective measures have been taken to protect pharmaceuticals.

There has been an overall improvement in standards of hygiene and appearance as a result of inspection operations, including the "Spring 88" campaign. Persons and institutions have displayed greater concern for the maintenance of equipment and facilities and the appearance of their surroundings.

The Council adopted a draft law on courts that deal with economic affairs. The draft law will provide for the dissolution of the State Economic Arbitration system. It will be replaced by a legal system for economic matters that is adapted to suit the new model of the economy, especially with respect to the equal status of all economic entities. Economic courts, as separate departments of general regional and voivodship courts, will guarantee the completely objective settlement of disputes by independent judges in accordance with civil law. This will ensure respect for the independence on economic units and the realization of the principle of equality before the law regardless of the form of ownership involved. In addition to economic matters, economic courts will also deal with matters relating to enterprises and their parent bodies, bankruptcy, and composition agreement proceedings. It is envisaged that most matters will be dealt with by regional courts of the first instance. Voivodship courts will deal with more complicated cases. The Supreme Court will act as an appeal court and issue decisions, which will have a significant impact on the validity of settlements regarding economic disputes. The draft envisages a significant simplification of economic court procedures. Economic entities will be able to make more extensive use of out-of-court settlements, which will make it possible to resolve disputes much more rapidly and cheaply.

The Council approved a draft law on the institution of public notary. In light of present-day social and economic conditions, the current law, which has been in force since 1951, does not satisfy the basic needs that arise in practice. The new regulations are aimed at effecting a definite streamlining in the work of notaries, reducing costs of notarial services, and ensuring that the needs of physical and legal persons are fully catered to in, among other things, areas in which the purpose of notarial work is to bring about economic activity. It was decided that there will be a definite increase in the number of people pursuing the profession of notary. It will become possible to establish private notarial offices. Local branches of state notarial bureaus will also be established. It has been accepted that a notary is a person who enjoys public confidence, which means that notarial work will be conducted by a notary and not by a notarial bureau. In taking into consideration practical needs, the law permits notaries to call into question the administration decisions and affidavits about which they may have doubts, which provides a legal basis for drawing up a notarial act. The draft law also regulates questions pertaining to appropriate representation for notaries. The collective bodies are to be the notary board, the district notary assembly, and the council for notarial affairs that will come under the minister of justice. They will serve to bring together the notary community, which has been dispersed until now, and contribute to the full accomplishment of notarial tasks.

A draft amendment was adopted to the law on the preservation of farm and forest land. The purpose of the amendment is to make land preservation more effective. The draft increases the scope of the term farm land. It is to include land around buildings and facilities that are not part of a farm in which high-level agricultural production is conducted, as well as land near flood barriers and access roads to arable land. On the other hand, facilities that are not directly involved in agricultural production will cease to be covered by the term agricultural land. The term forest land has similarly been defined in a more precise manner. Certain regulations governing the use of land for individual construction will lose their force. This will eliminate restrictions that make it difficult to make rational use of land that is unproductive. An important change in current regulations is that it will now be possible to use agricultural land located in towns for individual housing construction purposes. The general principles governing the creation of forests around large towns and health resorts will remain in force. The amendment provides for concessions with respect to the charges incurred by withdrawing land from productive use for units engaged in culture, education, and health care. The system governing charges that are paid into the fund for agricultural land maintenance in the case of land being withdrawn from productive use will brought into line with the principles for calculating the agriculture tax. Other provisions of the amendment make it possible to draw up plans to prevent the erosion of farm land, to conduct so-called preventative recultivation, and introduce additional economic sanctions that can be applied against industrial plants whose operations affect surrounding farm land. The principle of rational use of peat stocks is to be introduced.

The Council of Ministers also approved draft amendments to the law on housing for the Armed Forces. These amendments will serve to improve housing administration in the Armed Forces in line with state regulations concerning the management of housing contained in the housing law.

Sejm Discusses Bills on Constitution, Elections

LD2103183189 Warsaw PAP in English
1645 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Another meeting of the Sejm will start tomorrow. The most important topics of the two-day meeting are: The first reading of a draft law amending the constitution and draft laws on elections to the Sejm and the Senate tabled by the Council of State and the government-forwarded draft law on associations, draft amendments of the Trade Union Law, a draft law on the unions of private farmers. Three extraordinary committees to examine these drafts are to be set up.

Sejm Deputy Speaker Tadeusz Porebski stressed today that the drafts could be changed. They can be submitted by Sejm deputies and committees and the Council of State and Government can also forward their own corrections and, thus, the texts should not be treated as final. It is possible that the corrections will be submitted to the Sejm extraordinary committees that will be working till the second reading of the drafts.

Military Production Scheduled To Decrease

LD2103135889 Warsaw PAP in English
1152 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Restructurization of Polish Armed Forces does not only consist in disbanding military units, in transforming territorial defence brigades and batallions as well as engineering, railway and road construction units into civilian defence units, but also in reducing military production.

In 1988 the so-called special production was already by 30 percent lower than in the preceding year while this year it will go down to reach the level by 30 percent lower than that of two years ago, [figures as received] vice-manager of the mechanic machinery plant "Bumar Labedy" Zdzislaw Kopczyk told PAP.

The restructurization has become fact and we face the neccessity of economizing the released production capacities, so we have appointed a commission which has been analysing various offers and orders sent in from home and foreign firms for more than a year now. We are still open to suggestions, Kopcyzk said.

The "Labedy" mechanic plant was created in 1951 and since the very beginning it specialized in military production. Tanks T-54 and T-55 were made here and the T-72 tanks in various versions have been produced here for several years now.

Talks and negotiations are still underway with foreign firms from both the East and West on various forms of cooperation.

It is naturally unprofitable and unpurposeful, because of the plant's specific character and some of its machines, equipment, and technological lines being too specialized, to utilize them in civilian production. They will be kept in constant technological readiness as a reserve in case the special production needs to be increased.

Economic Situation for February 1989 Reported

AU2103132589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Mar 89 pp 1,4

[Main Statistical Office report: "The Situation in February—A Complicated Picture of the Economy"]

[Text] In February, output by the construction industry continued to grow fast. However, there was a low increase in the output of state industry on account of a deterioration in supplies of materials. Exports grew as fast as they did in January, but imports fell. Livestock procurement also fell. The population's liquid assets continued to rise.

Total working time was 1 day less than in February 1988.

Average air temperature was about 5-6 degrees [centigrade] higher than normal. Plants started to vegetate 1 month earlier than usual. Spring field work was carried out in some parts of the country.

Employment

Average employment in the five sectors of state industry—manufacturing, transportation, construction, communications, and trade—was 7,167,000, slightly less than in January. This is 204,000 people or 2.8 percent less than in February 1988. Average employment in the five abovementioned spheres in January and February was 196,000 people or 2.7 percent less than during the same period last year. In the manufacturing industries, employment fell by 104,000 (including a fall of 12,000 in the extracting industries); in the processing industries, employment fell by 92,000; in construction, it fell by 34,000; in transportation, it fell by 31,000; and in trade, it fell by 28,000. However, in communications, employment rose by 1,000. Employment in the manufacturing industries, construction; and transportation has exhibited a falling trend for some time.

Productivity in terms of the value of sold production in current prices per employee was 2.6 percent less than in January, with the same amount of working time. Productivity was 5.1 percent higher than in February 1988. Similar productivity in the construction industry was 13.7 percent higher than in January.

Material Supplies

In January and February 1989, supplies of bituminous coal (including brickettes) to the domestic market were 0.4 percent less than during the same time last year. Coal supplies for industrial purposes rose by 2.2 percent, and supplies for domestic and communal purposes fell by 10.8 percent. Stocks of coal among private consumers at the end of February were 28.4 percent higher than at the end of February 1988, which was enough to last 25 days. Stocks of coal in industry were 19.2 percent higher than last February.

These figures are the result of the mild winter, which reduced the need to heat premises.

Supplies of coke in January and February 1989 were 6.3 percent lower than during the same period in 1988.

Supplies of gasoline during this period were 11.5 percent higher than during the same period last year, but supplies of fuel oil were 5.3 percent lower. Supplies of heating oil were 5.6 percent higher than last year.

Domestic electricity supplies in January and February 1989 were 1.5 percent higher than last year. There were no restrictions on electricity consumption.

Imports of supplies from the first area of payments in terms of fixed prices in January and February 1989 were 5.6 percent lower than during the same time last year. Less metal products, electrical goods, and chemical goods were imported, but more products of the light industry, crude oil, natural gas, and oil-based products.

Imports of supplies from the second area of payments in terms of fixed prices were 2.7 percent lower than last year. Less oil-based products, electrical goods, chemical goods, and agricultural produce were imported, but more metal products and food items.

Sales of industrial feed by trade outlets of the "Peasants Self-Help" cooperative between July 1988 and February 1989 amounted to 2,313,000 tonnes, 9.4 percent more than between July 1987 and February 1988.

Sales of synthetic fertilizers during the same period amounted to 1,703,000 tonnes, 10.3 percent more than between July 1987 and February 1988. In January and February 1989, 358,000 tonnes of synthetic fertilizers were sold, 11.9 percent less than in January and February 1988. Fertilizer stocks at the end of February amounted to 409,000 tonnes, 5 percent more than last year. Sales of lime fertilizers between July 1988 and February 1989 amounted to 716,000 tonnes, and sales thereof in February 1989 amounted to 82,000 tonnes, a 4 percent and 23 percent increase respectively.

Supplies of insecticides in January and February amounted to 4,000 tonnes, 37.7 percent more than last year. Supplies of domestic insecticides rose by 3,600 tonnes or 32.5 percent, and supplies of foreign insecticides rose by 400 tonnes or 104 percent.

Prices

The prices of industrial commodities in February rose by 4.5 percent against January. Average prices in January and February were 13.2 percent higher than in December. The prices of industrial commodities in January and February 1989 were 71.8 percent higher than in January and February 1988.

The cost of construction work in February was 10.7 percent higher than in January. Average costs in January and February were 15.9 percent higher than in December. The cost of construction work in January and February 1989 was 76.5 percent higher than in January and February 1988.

Concerning trade with the first area of payments, transaction prices involving exports in January 1989 were 51 percent higher than in January 1988 because of a 1.1 percent drop in rouble prices and a 52.6 percent devaluation of the zloty against the rouble. Transaction prices involving imports fell by 44.5 percent. Concerning trade with the second area of payments, transaction prices involving exports during the same period rose by 51 percent because of a 3.4 increase in dollar prices and a 49.4 percent devaluation of the zloty against the dollar. Transaction prices involving exports rose by 62.1 percent.

The prices of goods and services in roubles, exported to the first area of payments in January and February 1989, fell by 1.1. percent against the same period in 1988. The same prices of imported goods and services fell by 6.4 percent. The lower prices of imported goods were brought about by a drop in the prices of crude oil, natural gas, oil-based products, iron ore, and cotton.

The prices of goods and services in dollars, exported to the second area of payments in January and February 1989, rose by 3.4 percent against the same period last year. The same prices of imported goods and services rose by 7.1 percent. The higher prices of imported goods were brought about by an increase in the prices of crude oil, oil-based products, phosphates, wheat, and rice.

The increases in the retail prices of goods and services in February caused a 7.4 percent increase in the price index compared with January. The increases comprised a 7.2 percent increase in the prices of food, an 8.2 percent increase in the prices of non-edibles, a 4.5 percent increase in the cost of services, and an 8.2 percent increase in the prices of liquor. Excluding the effects of increased prices of liquor and tobacco, retail prices in February rose by 6.4 percent against January.

The following are the major prices increases in February: Seven percent for bread, 10 percent for higher-quality cold cuts, 6-23 percent for some animal and vegetable fats, 47 percent for drinks, 40 percent for washing machines and refrigerators, 64 percent for packing materials and newspapers, 20-70 percent for electronic goods, 89 percent for photographic equipment, and 15-17 percent for vodka.

Average price increases in January and February 1989 amounted to 12.4 percent compared with December. Food went up by 10.2 percent, non-edibles by 14.4 percent, and services by 16.5 percent compared with December.

Prices in January and February 1989 were 76.1 percent higher than during the same period last year.

Incomes and Expenditures

According to information from the Polish National Bank, total incomes in February amounted to Z2165.5 billion, 76.6 percent more than in February 1988. Wages for work were 63 percent higher, profits from the sale of agricultural produce were 57.8 percent higher, and the profits of the nonagricultural sector of private industry were 168.1 percent higher.

Expenditures in February amounted to Z1787,8 billion, 90.8 percent more than in February 1988. Some 96.6 percent more money was spent on food.

As we know, prices and incomes went up in February, as a result of which the level of incomes, expenditures, and sales increased. This must be taken into account when assessing this year's growth patterns.

In January and February 1989, incomes amounted to Z4,336 billion, 101.4 percent more than in January and February 1988. Expenditures amounted to Z3,596 billion, 101.2 percent more than in 1988.

In January and February 1989, Z139.8 billion worth of loans was given, 89.1 more than in January and February 1988. In February, the population's liquid assets increased by Z377.7 billion, of which savings deposits increased by Z331.8 billion and ready cash by Z45.9 billion.

Wages

Average monthly wages in the state economy in February amounted to Z83,200, 24.3 percent more than in January, or 17 percent more when one excludes bonuses paid out of profits. Average monthly wages in February 1989 were 64.7 percent higher, or 97.1 percent higher when one excludes bonuses, than in February 1988. Average monthly wages in the state economy in January and February 1989 were Z75,100 higher than during the same time last year, or 99.7 percent higher if one excludes bonuses.

In state industry, average monthly wages in January and February 1989 were Z80,700, including Z146,800 in the extracting industries and Z70,500 in the processing industries. Compared with the same period last year, average monthly wages in state industry were 75.6 percent higher, including 101.5 percent higher in the extracting industries and 68.5 percent higher in the processing industries. When once excludes bonuses, these percentages are 97.7, 105.1, and 95.3, respectively.

The average old-age and disability pension in February 1989 was Z31,500, the same as in January, but 68.6 percent more than in February 1988.

General old-age and disability pensions for workers and servicemen amounted to Z33,600 per month on average, an increase of 78.5 percent compared to February 1988. Old-age pensions amounted to Z37,700 on average, an increase of 76 percent; disability pensions amounted to Z29,900 on average, an increase of 83.2 percent; family pensions amounted to Z29,900 on average, an increase of 82.3 percent; and old-age and disability pensions for private farmers amounted to Z22,600 on average, an increase of 62.8 percent.

In January and February, payments of social security benefits (excluding sickness benefits paid by employers) amounted to Z119.2 billion, 142.5 percent more than in January and February 1988.

The Domestic Market

In February, retail sales in terms of current prices amounted to Z1,517 billion, 2.4 percent more than in January 1989, and 90.4 percent more than in February 1988.

In January and February, sales of goods in current prices amounted to Z2,999 billion, 93 percent more than at the same time last year.

The value of stock in shops at the end of February, in current prices, was Z2,329 billion, 9.2 percent more than at the end of January and 79.7 percent more than at the end of February 1988.

New Housing and Social Premises

Some 4,000 state-constructed apartments were completed in February, 403 apartments or 9.12 percent less than in February 1988. In January and February, a total of 6,800 such apartments was completed, 0.4 percent more than in January and February 1988.

In January and February, work on 601 residential blocks commenced. In February alone, work on 322 of these commenced. These blocks contain a total of 15,900 apartments, 3,400 more than at the same time last year.

In January and February, the following social facilities were completed: a rest home with 30 beds, 6 health clinics with 52 doctor's surgeries, a social care home with 192 places, 2 nurseries with 150 places, 10 kindergartens with 665 places, 79 classrooms in 10 elementary schools, 10 classrooms in secondary schools, a students' dormitory with 46 places, and 2 school workshops with 204 workplaces.

Industry

Sold production by state industry in terms of current prices in February was 2.7 percent less than in January on account of reduced supplies of Polish and imported materials. Supplies of Polish metal goods were 13.8 percent lower, and supplies of Polish rubber tires for machines and equipment were 24.9 percent lower.

Compared with February 1988, the value of sold production of the extracting industries in February 1989 fell by 2 percent. That of the extracting industries fell by 2.6 percent, and that of the processing industries fell by 2 percent.

In February 1989, an increase in output of more than 5 percent was achieved in the electronics, construction, timber, and clothing industries. Increased output was also achieved in the metal, glass, porcelain, textile,

leather, and food industries. However, the output of the machine, precision tool, and transport industries fell. The output of the fuel and energy industry also fell because of a reduction in the level of consumption.

In January and February 1989, the value of sold production in terms of fixed prices was 6.6 percent higher than in 1988. That of the extracting industries was 0.4 percent higher, and that of the processing industries was 7 percent higher. Industrial output was 6.9 percent higher than in February 1988.

Construction

In February 1989, the primary output of state building enterprises measured in fixed prices was 3.8 percent higher than in January 1989 in terms of actual working time, and 13.7 percent higher in terms of comparative working time.

In January and February, the primary output of state building enterprises was 10.9 percent higher than last year in terms of actual and comparative working time.

In January and February, state building enterprises commenced 1,920 new projects and completed 983 old ones. Last year, the figures were 1,977 and 823, respectively. This is the first time in 4 years that more old projects have been completed and less new ones started.

At the end of February, work on 20,300 construction sites was still in progress, compared with 20,100 at the end of February 1988.

Agriculture

Spring work in the fields was undertaken in western and southern regions in February. During the final part of the month, oats were harvested in the voivodships of Szczecin, Koszalin, Wroclaw, Elblag, and Opole.

February saw a 7-percent increase in the free-market price of grain, a lower increase than in previous months. However, the prices of potatoes increased by 11 percent in January, and 22 percent in February. These changes had a bearing on animal breeding. Compared with February 1988, prices of grain were about 90 percent higher, and prices of potatoes about 153 percent higher. The present free-market prices of grain are 75 percent higher than the official prices. Last year, the difference in price was 13 percent.

A considerable increase in the prices of free-market animal feed, coupled with shortages of industrial feed, made it more expensive to breed pigs. In February 1989, the price of 1 kg of live pig was equal to that of 7 kg of feed. In January 1989, the same weight of pig cost 8 kg of feed, and in February 1988 it cost about 11 kg of feed.

The high cost of pig breeding reduced the demand for piglets, which is confirmed by a continuation of relatively low free-market prices of piglets, and even a fall in these prices in February. Prices of piglets in February 1989 went up by about 10 percent compared with February 1988, whereas the prices of heifers and cows went up by about 90 percent at the same time, and those of agricultural crops that are used as feed went up by over 150 percent. In February 1989, the price of a piglet for breeding purposes was Z8,400 on average. The relationship between this price and the procurement price of pigs was 20 percent less than it was in February 1988.

The reduced demand for piglets has led to a further fall in the number of sows, whose numbers fell by 7 percent in December 1988, 8.2 percent in January 1989, and 8.7 percent in February 1989, compared to the same months in 1988.

Following a high rise in animal procurement in January, caused by the abolition of contractual prices of animals and the imposition of maximum procurement prices, there was a major drop in animal procurement in February 1989 compared to January 1989 and February 1988.

In February 1989, 188,100 tonnes of slaughter animals were procured. This was 16.6 percent less than in January 1989. Some 15.7 percent less pigs, 18.6 percent less cattle, and 19.6 percent less poultry were procured. Compared with February 1988, procurement of slaughter animals was 13.6 percent less. That of pigs was 4.8 percent less, that of cattle was 30.3 percent less, and that of poultry was 0.6 percent more.

The relatively low procurement of animals in February 1989 is mainly the result of high procurement the previous February, in connection with the increase in procurement prices in that month. A major reason why less animals were supplied to procurement points toward the end of February 1989 was that farmers were waiting for an increase in procurement prices.

In January and February 1989, animal procurement amounted to 413,700 tonnes, 6.9 percent more than during the same period last year. Some 12.6 percent more pigs, 17.4 percent more poultry, and 3.8 percent less cattle were procured.

Milk procurement in February 1989 was 734.6 million liters, 6.1 percent more than in February 1988. In January and February 1989, milk procurement was 1,541.7 million liters, 8.3 percent more than in January and February 1988.

Transportation

In January and February 1989, 1.7 percent fewer goods were shipped than in 1988. Some 0.5 percent more goods were shipped by rail. The time taken to unload and reload a railroad car and prepare it for its return journey was shortened by 8 hours.

In the same months, 3.4 percent fewer goods were shipped by public and specialized road transport than in 1988. There were 4.8 percent fewer trucks on the roads at any one time than in 1988, but the technical standard and utilization of vehicles improved.

Also in the same months, shipments by sea were 2.3 percent less than in 1988. Some 7.5 million tonnes of goods were handled at maritime ports, 2.8 percent more than in 1988.

Communications

In January and February 1989, the number of telephone subscribers increased by 21,600. Of these, 3,500 lived in rural areas.

The number of telex subscribers increased by 400 since the beginning of the year, and reached 34,000 at the end of February. At the same time last year, the number of telex subscribers rose by less than half this amount.

In January and February 1989, the number of telefax subscribers increased by 200, reaching a total of 1,000 by the end of February.

Foreign Trade

In February 1989, exports in terms of fixed prices were 71.4 percent higher and imports were 52.4 percent higher than in January 1989. These figures fail to take into account the results achieved by the "Elektrim," "Weglokoks, "Kopex," and "Uniwersal" foreign trade enterprises, which did not submit their figures in time. Exports in February 1989 were 14 percent higher and imports 8.4 percent lower than in February 1988.

In terms of fixed ruble prices, exports to the first area of payments in February 1989 were 83.6 percent higher than in January 1989 and 14.4 percent higher than in February 1988. Imports in February 1989 were 63.8 percent higher than in January 1989, but 7.3 percent lower than in February 1988.

In terms of fixed dollar prices, exports to the second area of payments in February 1989 were 61.2 percent higher than in January 1989 and 16.2 percent higher than in February 1988. Imports in February 1989 were 41.4 percent higher than in January 1989, but 5.5 percent lower than in February 1988. A major result of this fall was the 44 percent decrease in imports of investment resources compared to February 1988.

In terms of fixed prices, exports in January and February 1989 were 11.1 percent higher and imports 4.5 percent lower than in January and February 1988.

Exports to the first area of payments in terms of fixed ruble prices rose by 10.8 percent. More electrical goods, fuels, energy, metal goods, and chemicals were exported. Imports from this area fell by 12.2 percent. Less quantities of the above goods but more food commodities were imported. At the end of February, the trade surplus amounted to R158 million, of which an increase of R135 million was achieved in February alone. The terms of trade indicator in January and February 1989 was 105.7. Last year it was 107.1.

Exports to the second area of payments in terms of fixed dollar prices rose by 14 percent. Most of the exports consisted of electrical goods, metal goods, and chemicals. Imports from this area rose by 4.3 percent. More quantities of food, meal goods, and timber products, but less electrical goods, chemicals, fuels, and energy were imported. At the end of February, the trade surplus with the second area of payments amounted to $213 million, of which an increase of $160 million was achieved in February alone. The terms of trade indicator in January and February 1989 was 96.5, compared to 104.4 last year.

New Private Weekly Publication Issued in Krakow

LD2203042989 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 22 Mar 89

["First Private Paper Published in Krakow"—PAP headline]

[Text] Krakow, March 21—The "EUREKA" weekly, issued by the advertisement-news agency "EUREKA" and the Polish management of the Pan American Airlines, has been issued here under the motto "Man in the World—Man in Travel."

Reaching an impression of 50 thousand copies, the paper is issued in the Polish language with advertisements in English.

The "EUREKA" weekly will be distributed on board of the Pan American and other Western airlines planes and in the "Orbis" hotel chain throughout Poland as well as by news agents.

Correction to Jaruzelski Speech in Katowice

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Jaruzelski Speaks at Conference in Katowice," published in the 20 March East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 27, column one: paragraph three, sentence three: ...great work of the 4-year Sejm, 1788-1792, did not protect... (changing dates from "1888-1892" to "1788-1792")

SCINTEIA on Safeguarding State Secrets

AU1703140089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1215 GMT 17 Mar 89

["SCINTEIA: Strict Observance of the Country's Laws"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/03/1989—In an editorial of its March 17 issue, SCINTEIA writes inter alia: Creating a new economy, a large national wealth, making deep-going changes in the social life, establishing new relations the essence of which is permanent care for the increase of society's wealth, its consolidation and preservation to the benefit and in the interests of workers, of the whole nation, the Romanian socialist society created a juridical system meant to consolidate these great achievements, to defend the people's foremost interests, the country's free and sovereign development. One should not forget for one moment that, as facts show, reactionary circles have not given up the attempts to promote hostile, anti-socialist and anti-Romanian attitudes, to harm the interests of the people, of our socialist state.

The measures for the improvement of socialist legality have provided a legal framework to the profound democratism of our legal system in which all people's will becomes the law, the socialist state being the legitimate representative of the interests of the masses. The continual development of socialist democracy calls for the increase of all working people's responsibility for how they work, the development of a juridical conscience, which means that everyone, no matter his place in society, should work in all circumstances in the spirit of honesty and rectitude, observe and defend the socialist laws, and those who infringe the legal provisions, [and] hence harm the interests of society should be held responsible for their guilt.

An expression of the people's will and interests, the law is compulsory for all, and the exact and consistent observance of its provisions is an unquestionable requirement. Whoever disregards the provisions of the law, breaks the legal framework, no matter who he is or what function he holds, takes in fact a position that is against society, the cause of development and improvement of the socialist system.

Protecting the interests of society, legal norms contain a number of preventive regulations, among which the provisions on ensuring, defending and safeguarding the state secret. The particular importance of these regulations springs from the overriding importance of the values to be protected, as the secret data and information contain the results of the creative activity of working collectivities, of the best specialists, being values of national interest. All the more so, this requires the strengthening of the revolutionary vigilance, intransigence, care and firmness in the observance of the legal regulations which protect the state secret.

Of course, the party and state cadres, the cadres in the economy, in all walks of life must be the first to set an example and be convincing by their work, by their behaviour, by their unfaltering rectitude. As concerns the obligations to store, handle or use data that are a state secret, the demands for an irreproachable conduct for attention, rectitude, rigour, honesty and seriousness are the highest. Failure to observe the norms set for the state secret, some people's undignified behaviour with representatives of other states, including during the negotiation of economic contracts, sometimes originate in apparently harmless weaknesses and shortfalls such as braggartism and garrulousness, which are used to advantage, sought, and even entertained by traitors, spies, enemies of the country, adversaries of socialism. We cannot leave anybody to engage in any activity that is contrary to the interests of Socialist Romania. To be understanding in that case means to play into the hands of reactionary circles, at the expense of the interests of the people, of socialist construction.

The Romanian party and state promoted and promote a policy of broad cooperation with all the states of the world, in accordance with the principles of fully equal rights and mutual advantage, respect for national sovereignty and independence, renunciation of the threat and use of force. These unanimously recognised principles of international law forbid any interference, any form of harming the lawful interests of each country. Among them is the right that each country has by virtue of its sovereignty to protect its data and intelligence that are important for the state activities, for the respective economy, for the respective nation. It is no accident that all the states of the world without exception maintain and enforce their own regulations and ways appropriate to their conditions to protect such data. Everywhere in the world, state secrets, economic technical, technological secrets are closely guarded.

More than once in the history of peoples, the attempts to their independence and sovereignty, to their national wealth were preceded by perfidious, treacherous watchwords "inviting" to liberalism, to anarchy, to disobedience of the laws, that are taken over with distressing naivety by some people, or with ill faith by treacherous people. The lessons of history must not be forgotten, not even when dishonest intentions are draped in a new cloak. What connection can there be between the alleged "human rights" claimed by a hostile imperialist propaganda for the purpose of interference in the domestic affairs, and the legal regulations aimed at safeguarding the national wealth, the interests of all people, their right freely and independently to build their own destiny?" [closing quotes as received]

The true rights of people—like those to social liberty, to a creative activity, to work and schooling, to a dignified existence, to life—are defended and achieved in full agreement with the strengthening of the country and its progress, through a firm application of the laws. Legal norms are the emanation of our people's common will,

they sanction, on the basis of constitutional provisions, relations, rights and obligations that are closely connected with the higher interests common to all working people, to all categories of citizens. Precisely therefore, unfaltering respect for socialist lawfulness is a natural, intrinsic expression of the unity of the working class, the farmers, the intellectuals, all people. Against the general background of the working people's responsibility and creative effort to fulfill the established programmes, all the more blamable—morally, politically, civically and legally—are the instances of violation of the laws of the country, of denigration of the people's great achievements which, in the last analysis, show ill will, they are slander, a betrayal of the revolutionary cause.

The closing part of the article says: The overwhelming majority of the citizens respect the socialist laws, they understand the significance of the established rules on the ensurance of the state secret, they have a correct and dignified behaviour in all circumstances, and it is for them a point of honour and of dignity to depict realities, the work of people as they really are, firmly to react to all the attempts to distort reality, to make ill-willing, slanderous insinuations, to overstate for defamatory purposes, difficulties and shortfalls otherwise inherent in any process of development, of many-sided economic and social improvement.

Dascalescu Congratulates SFRY's Markovic

AU1703193389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/03/1989—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, sent Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the SFR of Yugoslavia, a telegram whereby he conveys him congratulations on his appointment to that office.

The telegram expresses the belief that, acting in keeping with the resolutions and understandings covenanted at top level, the two countries' governments will cooperate even more active in future for the continuous development and deepening of the Romanian-Yugoslav relations of friendship, collaboration and good neighbourliness.

Giosan Receives Pakistani Parliamentarians

AU2103193589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/3/1989—Tuesday, 21 March, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, had an interview with a Pakistani parliamentary delegation led by Malik Miraj Khalid, speaker of the National Assembly of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, now on a visit to Bucharest.

Reference was made to the good relations of friendship and collaboration established between Romania and Pakistan, with emphasis on the decisive role of summit interviews and talks in their expansion and diversification. Stress was also laid on the contribution the two legislative fora can make to the development of cooperation in domains of joint interest, and mutual willingness was expressed to intensify cooperation between Romanian and Pakistani parliamentarians with a view to creating a climate of peace and understanding among all nations.

The same day the Pakistani parliamentary delegation had interviews with executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Giosan Receives Arab IPU Officials 21 Mar

AU2103211589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2033 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/3/1989—March 21, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, received Abdelrahman Bouraoui [spelling as received], secretary-general of the Arab Interparliamentary Union [IPU], accompanied by Houridoian Bouchkonj [spelling as received], deputy secretary-general.

On the occasion, stress was laid on the growing course of the manysided links between Romania and the Arab countries, which develop in keeping with the decisions made at summit meetings, on the constructive dialogue between parliaments and parliamentarians to promote the Romanian-Arab collaboration and cooperation in domains of mutual interest. Emphasis was also placed on the importance of the intensification of the contribution of parliaments to the settlement of the complex problems in the international life, to instate a climate of peace, security and cooperation among nations.

Loncar Comments on Measures on Asylum Seekers

LD1503134389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will take all legal measures available to reduce the number of its citizens who have been arriving in the FRG as bogus asylum seekers, Budomir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Jovan Vuckovic, assistant federal secretary for internal affairs, stressed today.

In their introductory reports at a joint session of the SFRY Assembly's Committee for Foreign Policy and the Committee for Internal Policy, Loncar and Vuckovic, each on behalf of the secretariat he represented, explained the measures Yugoslavia is taking to reverse the FRG's decision to introduce entry visas for SFRY citizens.

Loncar informed the delegates about his talks with FRG Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher in Bonn recently. He said that on that occasion, as well as in the course of other diplomatic activities (according to Loncar, Yugoslavia has recently taken part in 40 such activities on both the bilateral and multilateral scene), it was pointed out that the FRG's decision to reintroduce visas requirements would cause multiple damage—material, human, commercial, and tourist—to both countries, and will have negative implications for the development of democratic relations in Europe and for wider tendencies toward closer links among people and the strengthening of cooperation in international relations in general.

Loncar informed the FRG side about Yugoslavia's strong interest in seeing the continuation of unhindered impetus in enhancing comprehensive relations with the FRG in evidence over the last 14 years. He also convinced the FRG side about Yugoslavia's determination to take measures to prevent any further pressures on the FRG from bogus asylum seekers.

The diplomatic vocabulary which Loncar used at the recent CSCE meeting about this problem was rather clear and articulate, and at the same time carefully chosen so as not to offend anyone. The federal secretary stressed that "if forced, we shall have to be sharper and more explicit in international forums," but immediately added that he hopes that "we shall not be pushed into a situation where we will have to do that." He justified this attitude by quoting Bonn's official statement to the effect that the decision to introduce entry visas could be reversed if, over the next 2 months, the measures to be taken by the Yugoslav side prove effective. [passage omitted]

U.S. Proposal for Foreign Debtors Scrutinized

AU2103175089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Mar 89 p 2

[Vlado Teslic commentary: "The 'Realpolitik' of Creditors"]

[Text] How much does Yugoslavia owe its foreign creditors? How and when will it pay off this debt?

So far we have not had an answer to the second question. From this point on, it seems that we do not have one for the first, either. We present one set of figures and international banks and financial institutions present a quite different set—usually of larger figures. If debts are rescheduled and if the interest is always repaid at a higher rate, it is difficult to state whether we owe 18, 19, or 22 billion dollars. The only thing we know for sure is that we pay back $4-5 billion every year. These are the rules of the game and the rules of the "realpolitik" of the creditor countries in whose trap Yugoslavia, in addition to many other countries, has found itself.

For example, $30 billion flows from Latin America to the north every year, and this is only to pay back the interest. The debts of Latin American countries have already grown to more than $1,000 billion. What is worse, the national income of Latin American countries has fallen since 1981 by 10 percent. It would be interesting for someone to calculate how much our national income fell in that period.

These are catastrophes of vulcanic proportions which cannot remain without tragic consequences, both for the economies of the debtor countries and for their social and political life and stability. Does the recent unrest in Venezuela not demonstrate this?

Brady After Baker

The "new" plan of the new American secretary of the treasury, Brady, on treating the debt crisis is certainly at the center of attention. We stress the word "treat" because this is not a question of relieving the debt burden of $1,300 billion. President Bush has supported this plan, which has also been supported by almost all the developed countries, while the powerful propaganda of the Western countries have hurried to assess it as a change of policy on help from America and Japan (which is a significant novelty) for reducing debts and interest rates, that is, as their "acceptance of responsibility" for the debt crisis.

This seems too simplified and rosy to be true. The creditors have indeed already accepted responsibility for some time, but everything else is disputable. "No one is beside himself with joy," was the way one British banker described the real state of affairs concerning the Brady plan.

Like Baker, his predecessor in the Reagan administration, Brady proceeds from two main orientations: the voluntary agreement by banks to reduce debts and interest rates, and the greater use of the IMF funds and the World Bank for loans.

Banks simply did not listen to the call of the former treasury secretary of the greatest creditor country to give greater loans to the debtor countries, not even when these countries showed the willingness to accept all demands by the IMF for deep-rooted economic reforms.

The reforms have at best gone only halfway because there have not been enough funds for new production investment which would pay back the debts. Therefore, only interest was paid back at the price of a fall in the living standard and much social and political unrest, with a constant increase in inflation and a reduction of the social product. The banks at this time were constantly improving their position, proving in this way that the loans had been repaid.

There is no reason whatsoever to believe that banks would now be willing to change anything in their attitudes, and least of all to write off some of the debts.

Certainly what is left is the IMF and the World Bank, with their huge, unused funds of billions of dollars, and the readiness of Japan to play a greater role in this. Those who know the circumstances better maintain, however, that this would damage the internal relations and policy of international financial institutions and that these institutions would find it difficult to accept this. As far as Japan is concerned, it can be noted that its primary aim is to play a greater role in the IMF.

No One Is Beside Himself With Joy

When the first excitement quieted down, it could be seen that no one was beside himself with joy at the Brady plan. Something more could also be seen: the developing countries were the least happy about the plan.

The Americans had, until then, skillfully played on the differences among the debtor countries, relying on those more developed countries like Mexico and Venezuela, or on the stands of the Brazilian finance minister, which oppose the creation of a cartel of debtors and the halting of the repayment of debts.

The American Government is obviously still not ready to change anything essential in its policy and keeps to old formulae to ensure new loans on top of old ones and tomprevent debts from being written off. No one, in fact, is more suitable than the cautious Bush for such an approach, which persistently adheres to two old rules of American finance: There is no room for philanthropy, that is, for writing off debts, and loans with greater or less interest are the basis of the "realpolitik" of any financing.

Another question is: To what extent is that policy truly realistic under the present international conditions? The Americans ask for more time, which otherwise runs out quickly, and still oppose global negotiations and the search for joint solutions, because they are obviously not ready for a strategic change in which they would redirect the vast funds for armaments to financing world development. This does not mean that the developing world must patiently wait for its own catastrophe and not fight for negotiations and united solutions, which must include both the writing off of debts and new loans, but also the new economic order. The primary task of the forthcoming nonaligned summit should probably be concerned with this.

Border Obstacles Within EC Discouraged

LD1503042289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2244 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Strasbourg, March 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has warned that the abolition of borders within the European Community in 1992 should not create obstacles, such as a unified system of visas, to free entry into E.C. territory by citizens of countries that have for twenty years freely crossed the borders of most of the twelve E.C. states.

This was stresed by a group of Yugoslav parliamentarians who had talks here today with a delegation of the European Parliament. They stressed that Yugoslavia has a specific agreement on trade, economic, scientific and financial cooperation with E.C. and that relations with this regional economic grouping have continually followed an upward trend.

The European parliamentarians, headed by Julian Grimaldos, stressed that the creation of a single market by 1992 will in no way mean closing the E.C. towards foreign partners and the creation of a "European fortress".

The Assembly of Yugoslavia delegation headed by its foreign policy commission president Aleksandar Simovic was today received by European Parliament President Lord Plumb. They assessed the two sides continued direct contacts as very useful.

The Yugoslav parliamentarians and their hosts discussed ways for promoting trade and economic cooperation and assessed that there are very good prospects for developing cooperation in the fields of transport and tourism.

The Yugoslav delegation informed its hosts of the efforts being invested to direct the Yugoslav economy towards a market economy, to curb inflation which is currently a major problem, and the development of political pluralism in the country. They explained the special measures which the Yugoslav state party leadership introduced in the southern province of Kosovo after the recent series of strikes by the ethnic Albanian population.

The Yugoslav parliamentarians especially stressed that changes of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia will in no way mean diminishing the autonomy of Kosovo, one of the two provinces that are a constituent part of Serbia, the largest of Yugoslavia's six republics.

Smole Interviewed on Relations With Europe

AU1503151489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 89 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Clear Accounting Sought"]

[Text] The Slovenian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference has launched an initiative (accepted unanimously at its last session) that one of the future meetings of the republican conference should have "Europe 92" as its topic. The conference theme has reportedly long been topical among all sections of the Slovenian public, and the recent visit of Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Loncar to Ljubljana—as far as we can see—has been a new encouragement to the organizers for the first steps of their programmed conference between Yugoslavia and the EEC to be held as soon as possible after 1992 and to be as far-reaching as possible. We talked in Ljubljana recently to Joze Smole, president of the Slovenian SAWP Republican Conference. Below are excerpts from this conversation, in which, as you can see, some other no less topical and controversial themes are broached.

The conference on "Europe 92": We wish to provide expert and comprehensive information on what is happening in regard to trends toward integration in Europe, and to urge Yugoslavia to a concrete decision which will lead from words to deeds. At the meeting of our Presidium, serious attention was drawn to the fact that everything depends, in this respect, on our conduct and on our economic and political reforms. Experts from all parts of the country will be invited to our conference in Ljubljana. Our aim is to reach agreement on holding such a conference at the federal level; restricting it merely to Slovenia would be unproductive. We will propose the organization of such a meeting to the federal conference. This would enable it to become a Yugoslav gathering.

Entry Into Europe: I believe that it would be necessary for us to enter the European Free Trade Association at once, and this supposes that we accept mutual conditions—reduced customs duties, international competition on the domestic market, and a final renunciation of a closed domestic market. A section of the monopolized economy, of course, offers great resistance to this.

Financing the Federation: We must change its sources. For instance, customs duties should be considered differently. Without reducing them and opening the market, we cannot seriously talk about joining Europe. Where Europe is concerned, we must accept European models of standardization and show that we are in favor of political pluralism. The Council of Europe, for example, does not demand a multiparty system, but merely the respect for political pluralism and human rights. We signed the Helsinki declaration, and this places us under an obligation on this—we must recognize international jurisdiction and cease thinking of every discussion of human rights as interference in our internal affairs.

Slovenia and Europe: There is a lot of provincialism, even in Slovenia, regarding Europe. It is nevertheless very important that we should embark upon a concrete process of studying European currents, because we have long been excluded and have fallen far behind. We in Slovenia have developed awareness of what is happening in Europe, and we must disseminate this to everybody in the SFRY. A foreign journalist asked me whether Slovenia could join Europe by itself. I replied that Yugoslavia must join. However, if there is no agreement on this, we must allow the driving forces of the economy to join European scientific, financial, and technological currents.

The Nonaligned Summit: The summit may help to affirm us in Europe; the essential thing is to interpret it in a modern sense. It worries many that some people now put material questions at the center of attention. However, a kind of megalomania has now somehow sprung up—new hotels, motor cars... We have therefore demanded that financial accounts be presented, and that not a single dinar be spent on it. This is a most critical point—people are wondering how much it will cost. Belgrade and Ljubljana have plenty of room. Belgrade can build 5 or 10 hotels, but cannot charge them to the nonaligned summit.

Consultations With Italian Delegation End

LD2103230589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—The two-day Yugoslav-Italian consultations on the implementation of the memorandum on concordance, cooperation and development, signed by former Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic last year, ended in Belgrade today.

Under the memorandum, Yugoslavia has the opportunity to use very favourable credits for obtaining equipment and new technological achievements and 305 million dollars worth of technical aid.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budomir Loncar today received Giuseppe Santor, the head of the Italian delegation and deputy general director for development in the Italian Foreign Ministry. Santor discussed with his Yugoslav collocutors the list of Yugoslav projects for scientific-technological cooperation. The two delegations made preliminary selection of projects which are to be carried out.

Upcoming Visit of Foreign Officials Announced

LD1603190789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti will arrive this spring on a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of new Prime Minister Ante Markovic, Yugoslav Government press spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a regular press conference in Belgrade on Thursday.

The new Yugoslav prime minister has many meetings forthcoming, including talks with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, Vajgl said.

Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar will receive the foreign ministers of Austria and Egypt, Alois Mock and 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, on separate visits, Vajgl said.

Loncar has received invitations for visits from Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and British Foreign Minister Geoffrey Howe, Vajgl said. The dates of the visits have not yet been set but they are expected to take place shortly, he added.

Trade Ties Reestablished With Taiwan Businessmen
LD2203050789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0320 GMT 22 Mar 89

[By Stanislava Antelj Medic]

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—After a forty-year break in economic relations, Yugoslav and Taiwanese businessmen met for three days in Belgrade in mid-March and agreed to open a broad two-way road to mutual trade, financial and other forms of business cooperation.

The two countries do not maintain diplomatic relations, but Yugoslavia last year lifted a ban on economic cooperation with Taiwan. This paved the way to direct contacts and exchanges that reached four million dollars in a short period. It is known, however, that Taiwan shipped to Yugoslaavia through third countries about 10 million dollars worth of goods and Yugoslavia at the same time exported to Taiwan nearly 20 million dollars worth of goods.

In addition to Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea, Taiwan ranks as one of the most successful newly industrialized countries. Last year, it recorded a real economic growth of 7.2 per cent. The volume of Taiwan's trade with the world exceeded 100 billion dollars and its foreign currency reserves totalled 70 billion dollars.

According to an agreement on trade signed by secretary-general of Taiwan's External Trade Development Council Augustin Ting-tsu Liu and vice-president of Yugoslavia's Chamber of the Economy Milos Vlaisavljevic, the two economic associations will first see to it that businessmen from both countries obtain visas for their business trips under an eased procedure. They will also work to open trade offices in Taipei and Belgrade.

Yugoslavia has already granted permit to the China Airlines company to fly in its air space and expects a reciprocal decision on Taiwan's part, as one in a series of practical steps aimed at creating conditions for dynamic business contacts.

Under the sponsorship of Taiwan's External Trade Council, Yugoslav businessmen plan to hold a seminar on Yugoslavia's economic potentials in Taipei already this year and Taiwanese businessmen will take part in the Zagreb international trade fair in the autumn. They will also draw up a joint study on the potential of the two countries economies.

It was concluded at the Belgrade meting that Taiwan and Yugoslavia can hope to achieve best results in trade and cooperation in the field of electro, textile, chemical and construction machinery industries. The Taiwanese side showed special interest in Yugoslav raw materials such as zinc, alumunium (ingots) and chemicals.

In a statement to TANJUG, Ting-tsu Liu said that these fields are equally interesting to the two countries and expressed the hope that the volume of two-way trade will double this year.

He also described the agreement signed in Belgrade as a corner-stone of future cooperation and as a document of historic importance. He said that "scores of deals" could be expected in the coming years because, as he said, Yugoslavs have a highly entrepreneurial spirit.

Diplomat Dies After Shooting in Montenegro
LD2103150589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1439 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Titograd, March 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Consul in Hamburg Vasilije Delibasic, 52, succumbed to injuries, after having been shot by an unidentified assailant in the southern Adriatic city of Bar on Sunday night.

Delibasic was attacked while strolling with his wife. The assailant appeared suddenly, aimed a shot gun at the diplomat and shot him twice. He then took Delibasic's wallet and disappeared.

Police are searching for the attacker.

Tupurkovski Speaks to Youth Group on Nationalism
LD1503214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2212 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Skopje, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The disintegration processes in our country have not been halted, but are getting stronger. Along with political and national polarization, class interests are being suspended and national interests predominate; this indicates the loss of criteria for and the destruction of the consistency of national and class interests.

Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said this tonight when speaking to the Skopje youth aktiv on the current sociopolitical situation, young people, and reforms. Speaking about nationalism, Tupurkovski asked what kind of internal reserve pushes us toward the escalation of it. We cannot be blind, deaf, and insensitive to the primitivism contained

in nationalism. We are not in a position to accept and recognize such primitivism, and this is why each person must present himself and his environment with this problem.

Political and national homogenization is being carried out, and it has already become an obvious process in numerous environments. In this way, a clash has developed between the forces of democratic transformation and the forces of the present status quo. [passage omitted]

Asked what he thinks about the statement by Slobodan Milosevic at the meeting in front of the SFRY Assembly that the initiators of the November and February events in Kosovo will be arrested, Tupurkovski said that in the conditions of the existence of the state's rule of law in Kosovo, this statement has no value at all. Above all, because it ought to be backed up by legal muscle, so that action can be taken against any person.

However, in the absence of the state's rule of law, the party should not distance itself from the state, because all real relations are in confusion. In these conditions it is not important whether one party distances itself from the state or not. However, in a special situation in front of 1.5 million people and in a pronounced emotively-charged atmosphere, this statement can be understood and criticized in a different way in different environments, and becomes the subject of wrangling between individual leaderships and parts of the LC. This gathering in front of the SFRY Assembly was an emotive reply to everything which happened the day before in Cankar Hall and in Kosovo, Vasil Tupurkovski said among other things.

SAWPY Federal Conference Addresses Problems

LD1503234789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The galloping inflation is without doubt one of the most serious problems facing the Yugoslav economy, although the lack of unity among the leaderships which is hampering efforts to pull out of the crisis and to carry out economic reforms, is not far behind. This was stated at a session today of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium which discussed the economic situation in the country.

The Socialist Alliance, it was stressed, supports the concept of three reforms and considers the platform submitted by Premier-designate Ante Markovic to be clear and acceptable. It would, however, be wrong to think that the platform itself would change the situation in the economy. Effort is required by all forces in society if the difficulties are to be overcome.

It is necessary, it was stressed in the debate, to step up the political struggle against feudal and national divisions and open up scope for a class and Yugoslav approach to the problems. The Socialist Alliance must declare war on such ideas within its own ranks.

In Joze Smole's view, Yugoslavia spends too much time talking about counterrevolution and the so-called internal enemies, which of late include Slovenia, too. What is being forgotten, however, is the fact that inflation is Yugoskavia's main enemy. There is a need, Smole said, for an atmosphere in which the focus would be on the economic problems.

In Smole's view, inflation cannot be defeated without an economic and political reform. This implies recognizing the fact that we are a pluralist society which needs scope for political and ideological pluralism. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part two not received]

At today's session the SAWPY Fedeal Conference Presidium endorsed proposals by Premier-designate Ante Markovic for members of the Federal Executive Council. Aleksandar Mitrovic and Zivko Pregl are proposed for the posts of vice president. Mitrovic would be in charge of development, economic and social policy, and Pregl for the economic and political system.

Candidates for the posts of federal secretaries are: Budimir Loncar—for foreign affairs; Veljko Kadijevic—for national defense; Petar Gracanin—for internal affairs.

Branko Zekan is a candidate for the post of the federal secretary for finance; Franc Horvat—federal secretary for foreign economic relations; Nazmi Mustafa—federal secretary for trade; Bozidar Marendic—federal secretary for development; Stevan Santo—federal secretary for energy and industry; Joze Slokar—federal secretary for transport and communications; Dr Stevo Mirjanic—federal secretary for agriculture; Rdisa Gacic—federal secretary for labor, health, war veterans issues and social policy; Dr Vlado Kambovski—federal secretary for justice and administration.

Markovic proposed Dzevad Mujezinovic, Branimir Pajkovic and Nikola Gasevski members of the Federal Executive Council without portfolio. One more candidate for member without portfolio is to be proposed at a later stage after, according to Markovic, additional consultations. He said that there was readiness to resolve this issue which is however tied to some other cadre "combinations."

Five members of the present government have also been proposed for the new Federal Executive Council but not all of them would remain with their present portfolios. They are the present federal secretary for foreign affairs, Budimir Loncar; Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense; Franc Horvat, chairman of the committee for tourism; and ministers without portfolio Dzevad Mujezinovic and Stevo Mirjanic.

Explaining his choice of candidates for members of the Federal Executive Council who should be confirmed by the SFRY Assembly tomorrow, Ante Markovic stressed that he opted for skilled people, people who are experts in their jobs and who can take on responsible duties immediately upon taking the office. While compiling the list of candidates, Markovic had, as he put it, support from the republics and provinces. No conditions had been set by either the republics or provinces except in one case which was subsequently resolved.

I thought, Markovic said, that one of the vice presidents should be from one of the insufficiently developed republics or the province. This post was kept open until last night but all his attempts to find a suitable candidate remained fruitless. Markovic said that he talked to almost all the candidates on the longer list (to some of them on several occasions) and asked each of them to submit in writing their ideas of the job they were expecting to get and a review of what they had already done.

Markovic said that he tried to maintain the appropriate proportional representation of the republics and provinces and that this was achieved in the FEC's overall composition. For the same reason and in order to maintain balance in the way the republics and provinces are represented, he offered individual portfolios to individual republics but they refused to put suitable candidates at his disposal. When proposing the candidates he had to take into account the fact that the heads of some departments would have to leave them for either objective or administrative reasons within a year.

The premier-designate stressed again today that over the last 6 weeks since he submitted his platform for the new government here before the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, he had been given full support from all quarters. However, this does not mean that there will be no problems with the implementation of that platform and necessary concrete measures. He informed the delegates that today the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber unanimously adopted changes in the law providing for transformation in the Federal Executive Council and federal administration as an important move in reforming the state as a whole. He noted that all the federal committees, as remnants of consensus economy, would be abolished as well as various other committees, commissions and boards. In the new government all departments will have the status of a secretariat and their secretaries will be given appropriate powers but will be acountable to the Federal Executive Council, the SFRY Assembly and to society as a whole. Members of the Federal Executive Council, without portfolio will not be in charge of any department but will be given quite specific duties. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts five and six not received]

Resolute measures are needed to suppress the kind of reporting which leads to divisions and the destruction of Yugoslavia and its territorial integrity. This was stressed in a brief discussion about the "propaganda war" among the media in various parts of the country. The topic was included on the agenda at the proposal of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference Presidium.

Despite expectations there was no lengthy and "sharp" debate about the issue since it will be discussed at a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference. The Presidium today set specific tasks and duties for the founders of newspapers, radio and television, for social and publishing councils and editorial boards, in other words, for all social subjects involved in the system of public information.

Presidium members were unanimous in accepting the text of stands and conclusions but failed to accept a special conclusion on MLADINA although this was requested by Milan Daljevic at the very beginning of the session. He called on the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium to condemn and reject MLADINA's articles and its division of Yugoslavia into the western and eastern part.

Instead of using the media to build and develop brotherhood and unity, it is being mercilessly used to promote only one's own stands, Bozidar Colakovic stressed in an introductory report. He said, inter alia, that vacillation at all levels to establish responsibility for the situation in the country was the main reason for the current situation in the media.

We are calling on all the leaderships to suppress those pieces of information which are not in the interests of Yugoslavia, Colakovic said. He also suggested that the LCY Central Committee should analyze the implementation so far of the standpoints of the 17th LCY Central Committee session to contribute, in that way, to the efforts to improve work in the public information system. [passage omitted]

Some Still Not Working at Goles Mine

LD2103201489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The second shift in the Goles magnesite mine did not work in its full force this afternoon. At about 1500 [1400 GMT], 70 second-shift workers arrived on the premises of the mine, but did not go down the pits. However, the flotation and other surface works were operating as normal.

The Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection is still in session discussing the matter.

In the Kisnica and Novo Brdo pit, of 358 miners, only 203 turned up for work, while 111 miners failed to come without giving any excuse. The committee is expected to take adequate measures here as well.

Schoolchildren Boycott Classes in Kosovo
LD2103192189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—In the Zejnel Hajdini secondary school center in Urosevac, 700 schoolchildren have boycotted the first session of class.

Teaching is otherwise going ahead in difficult conditions in a large number of schools in the province.

Pristina University Condemns Student Action
LD2103205589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The Council of Deans and the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of Pristina University assessed at today's session that the political-security situation at the university is exceptionally difficult and that classes in Albanian are not proceeding regularly. Over the past few days there have again been instances, it has been reported, of disruption to and interruptions in classes.

In some faculties and colleges—in individual groups or by academic levels within them—the statement says, students of Albanian nationality are boycotting classes, failing to attend lectures, gathering in halls, or passively attending lectures. The leadership of the university most forthrightly condemns these phenomena and points to their undesired negative political and pedagogic consequences. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Body Discusses Protests Within Education
LD2103204389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's meeting in the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee [PC] with representatives of educational, scientific, and cultural institutions of this province, it was noted that the cessation of teaching in schools and faculties of Pristina University where lessons are in Albanian was organized and prepared. Most responsibility for this is borne by educational workers, and included among them, it was said, are those who publicly persuaded schoolchildren not to attend classes.

It is simply unbelieveable, Milan Krnjevic, executive secretary in the Kosovo LC PC Presidium, observed, how educational workers in some schools in Kosovo abused the vocation of educational worker, pedagogue, and humanist, and directly influenced the deterioration of intranational relations. The debate also took note of the silence and refusal of schoolchildren and students to enter classrooms, as well as of the new method of opposing the changes to the Serbian Constitution and expressions of solidarity with some of the demands of the Trepca miners. This is what happened at the law, economics, and mining and metallurgy faculties, the Higher Technical School in Titova Mitrovica, and the Higher Commercial School in Pec. There were also partial boycotts at the electrotechnical, civil engineering, and philology faculties, as well as at the Higher Pedagogical School in Pristina. Part and parcel of this peculiar kind of protest is the phenomenon—recorded last night and today—of the refusal again by a number of students of Albanian nationality to consume food in the student refectory. [passage omitted]

Students Question Demands at Belgrade Meeting
AU2203101389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Mar 89 p 11

[V. Garcevic report: "Names Were Not Mentioned"]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar—A few days ago at the expanded session of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth League of the Student Town, the students that had participated in the meeting [held in Belgrade on 28 February] asked why the demand for establishing the accountability of Stipe Suvar and Stefan Korosec was included among all the other demands made at the meeting when they had not made this demand. At the session in the Student Town, this question was not answered by Dragan Tomic, president of the City Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Belgrade, who read out the "contentious" demand at the meeting. Yesterday he explained to BORBA that the most important thing was that the initiative had been accepted by the crowd of 1 million people outside the SFRY Assembly building, but he does not remember when and how it was formulated, and who had been the initiator of the demand.

As the youth officials of the Student Town stated to us, the students' demands were spontaneously formulated on the way to the Assembly, and it seems that they were augmented at the meeting by a demand of the workers who had gathered there. This is confirmed by looking through the daily newspapers, which mentioned in their reports on 1 March that while reading the demands of the students and workers, Dragan Tomic also read out "the demand for the particular accountability of Suvar and Korosec to be established, because they had allowed experienced Communists in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to be replaced, they had ignored the setting up of political parties, and had allowed the Slovene leadership to openly support demands for Kosovo to be a republic." However, VECERNJE NOVOSTI mentions in its report from the meeting that the students' demands matched those of the workers, but that the workers also asked that "the narrower political bodies of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia and the SR of Slovenia be condemned because they gave support to Albanian separatists, and that speeches at the meeting in Ljubljana be condemned." This means that names were not mentioned.

It is also strange that although this is a question of demands by workers and students, the extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] sent a reply to the students stating "that the president and secretary of the LCY Central Committee could only be held responsible in the context of the collective responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium as assessed by the LCY Central Committee." This means that a reply was sent to those who had not specifically demanded it.

Kosovo Assembly Assesses Special Measures

AU1503152389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The SFRY Presidency Measures Were Necessary"]

[Text] The Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo saw the special measures taken by the SFRY Presidency as necessary to preserve and protect the territorial integrity and constitutional order of the SFRY, to secure public order and peace, freedom of work and normal life, to normalize the general situation and daily life, restore interethnic trust, and to produce a favorable atmosphere for the work of social forces to carry out the tasks set for them.

The communal assemblies must immediately, within the framework of their powers, take every necessary measure which can contribute toward eliminating the causes which have led to the aggravation of the political and security situation in the province and which can normalize the existing situation.

The Kosovo SAP Assembly has obliged the Kosovo SAP Executive Council to propose, if necessary, to the Kosovo SAP Assembly the inauguration of those measures within the powers of the Kosovo SAP which are necessary to stabilize the situation in the province.

It is the duty of the Assembly Executive Council and all administrative organs and bodies to further introduce all necessary measures within their powers to effectively enforce the special measures of the SFRY Presidency. The Assembly appealed to all working people and citizens, school pupils and students, in their commitment to perform their daily tasks, to show a high degree of awareness and responsibility in the struggle against all signs of hostile activity, and to preserve normal life, as well as the unhindered operation of the institutions of the system and of production processes.

The Kosovo SAP Assembly demanded that the appropriate organs effectively and responsibly carry out measures to establish the responsibility of all individuals, and within this context, call to account the inspirers and organizers of hostile, counterrevolutionary activity in the province.

At its next session, the Kosovo SAP Assembly will consider the implementation of the Yugoslav program and its own duties devolving from this program, and, within the framework of its rights, duties, and responsibilities, will undertake all necessary measures and other activities in order to effectively, totally, and punctually perform its duties, as well as to establish the personal and collective responsibility of individuals and organizations who are not performing their duties as laid down in the Yugoslav program.

The Kosovo SAP Assembly took the view that the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia represents a primary task of exceptional importance in preserving the necessary unity and togetherness of all socialist, self-managing forces in the SR of Serbia, on the lines of the 13th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, and the conclusions and decisions of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The constitutional changes are significant not only for the SR of Serbia and the provinces, but in establishing the constitutional idea of the Yugoslav federation and the stability of the country as a whole.

The constitutional changes will lead to the stabilization of the situation in the province, and in this way to the stabilization of the republic and the country.

Kosovo Committee Issues Statement on Situation

LD1403173989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-croatian 1555 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection [ONO/DSZ] of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo today assessed that the situation in this province, despite the normalization of work in most organizations of associated labor and regular tuition in schools and faculties, continues to be very serious. The situation is made particularly complex by the fact that the miners in the Stari Trg mine have still not begun work, and by the fact that the work stoppage is still continuing at Goles; some miners in other mines are also still not working full time.

The statement from the session says that over the last few days, there has been an increase in hostile activity and activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists, as well as hostile propaganda against a number of sectors in Kosovo. Therefore it is vital that all the people involved in social self-protection and security take all necessary measures to forestall all possible hostile intentions.

The ideopolitical activity among the miners and the working class of Kosovo has, to a certain extent, mobilized the working class to carry out its obligation to work. Therefore, it is concluded that this activity should be continued in all sectors, because the committee believes that there are still places where individuals and groups

are trying to hamper the process of stabilizing the situation, as a result of which it is vital to more resolutely implement working and political differentiation to the end.

The committee obliges the competent organs to take all necessary measures to ensure the normal production process in all workplaces and the full security of all working people and citizens in the province. The committee for ONO/DSZ calls on all working people and citizens to go about their regular work duties and other social activities, and in this way make their full contribution toward stabilizing the situation in Kosovo, the statement from the session stresses.

Kosovo Socialist Alliance Holds Session

LD1703000689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 16 (TANJUG)—Albanian separatists in Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province, in collaboration with the Albanian emigres and secret service, are trying to turn Kosovo into an international trouble spot, a senior official of the Socialist Alliance, the country's largest socio-political organization, said here on Thursday.

Milan Daljevic told a session of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance leadership that the latest events in the province show that the separatists have not dropped their "three-stage" programme recently disclosed to the federal parliament by member of the top state leadership Lazar Mojsov.

The programme is aimed at Kosovo's separation from Yugoslavia and annexation to the so-called "greater Albania".

Following "a shock created by the introduction of special measures in Kosovo, the separatists have pulled themselves together" and continue to work on blocking the province's political and economic system, said Daljevic.

In the assessment of the provincial Socialist Alliance, the miners who staged a strike in Kosovo in late February were only used as a lever to exert pressure on the leaderships of Kosovo, the Republic of Serbia (within which the province has an autonomous status) and the federation to accept their otherwise unacceptable political demands.

The miners of the Trepca complex, whose eight-day strike in the Stari Trg pit triggered a wave of strikes throughout the province which are still underway, posed very clear political demands, such as dropping the announced constitutional changes in Serbia aimed at ensuring the republic's jurisdiction over its entire territory, including the two autonomous provinces—Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo in the south.

The provincial socialist alliance leadership said that the introduction of special measures in Kosovo was necessary to stabilize the situation there, and that the rumours, particularly those outside Yugoslavia, that these measures are directed against the Albanian population in Kosovo must be countered in an argumented way.

Kosovo Situation No Threat to Nonaligned Summit

LD1603175289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—"We see no reasons that could bring into question the regular preparations for the top-level meeting of the nonaligned countries scheduled to be held in Belgrade in September," a Yugoslav government spokesman said today.

Responding to a question by the Belgrade correspondent of the AFP agency about the alleged possibility that the situation in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo may threaten the holding of the summit, Vajgl said at a regular press conference that the political and organizational preparations for the meeting are "under way as planned."

The Yugoslav government spokesman said that he was not in the possession of precise figures on the projected cost of the summit, but explained that the summit will be financed by the economy of Belgrade, the Republic of Serbia and the entire Yugoslavia.

Veterans Organization Assesses Political Events

AU1403154489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 89 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Front Against Destruction and Clashes"]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar—The Presidium of the Veterans' Organization of Yugoslavia appealed to all citizens of the SFRY to oppose the forces of destruction and clashes, and nationalism, above all in their own communities. This was stressed in a statement issued by the Presidium of the Federal Council of the Veterans Organization of Yugoslavia today.

According to the veterans, the socialist front is the only alternative to nationalist, chauvinist, and separatist attempts to break up Yugoslavia.

"We must first of all go to Kosovo, and then to other parts of the country, and set up a joint front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, Romis, and Croats. Nobody will be able to defeat this front," the statement says.

The Presidium of the Federal Council assessed that the latest escalation of the political crisis in Kosovo has deepened national divisions and confrontations, that it threatens to destabilize the situation in this province,

hinders the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, and that it is pulling Yugoslavia toward a whirlpool of interethnic clashes with catastrophic consequences for all the peoples and nationalities of the independent, socialist, and federal community.

This would be, the session concluded, a defeat of the life efforts and hopes of many generations of all peoples and nationalities who live on the territory of Yugoslavia that a free, fraternal, equal, and joint life is possible without negatively affecting anybody. This would be the greatest defeat of the generation of partisans who lived and gave their lives for such a Yugoslavia.

Supporting the assessments and decisions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its Presidium, as well as the special measures of the SFRY Presidency for overcoming the present critical situation in Kosovo, the veterans stressed that the voices and messages of the prophets who advocate exclusiveness and hatred must be uncovered and silenced through a comprehensive political action, regardless of where they come from. One must also demand that all those who resisted the decisions of the top state and party leaderships be called to account, because their action threatens the basic achievements of the people's liberation war and the socialist revolution.

Condemning the meeting in the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana, the session concluded that on the basis of a proposal of the members of the Presidium from Slovenia, the Republican Council of the Veterans Organization should analyze this meeting and inform the Presidium of the Federal Council of the Veterans Organization of its assessments and stands.

Vojvodina LC Supports Extraordinary Congress

AU1503171189 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 89 p 5

[N. Vujovic commentary: "The Congress Must Be Extraordinary"]

[Text] The depth of the economic and political crisis in Yugoslav society and the situation and relations in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] demands that an extraordinary LCY congress be devoted above all to social reform and the transformation of the LCY. An extraordinary LCY congress would have to answer the question: What kind of League of Communists [LC] can ensure the dominant role of the working class under conditions of the market system? Tomorrow the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee will discuss the proposed platform for an extraordinary LCY congress. This task is being carried out at the demand of the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference. The Vojvodina party membership insists that the LCY Statute be strictly adhered to. This obliges the LCY Central Committee to call an extraordinary LCY congress as soon as possible. Since the initiative was launched on 20th January, according to the statute the latest deadline for calling an extraordinary congress is 20th March.

The LCY should not hesitate over decisive initiatives for establishing its own unity and the unity of the country. It is assessed in the proposed platform that there is an increasing lack of confidence in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium because of the futile implementation of policy in Kosovo. The LCY leadership has not shown the ability and has not had the strength to establish the necessary unity, especially in the implementation of the adopted policy. The LCY leadership also does not have the necessary standing and authority to halt the negative tendencies which are pushing Yugoslavia into this increasingly deep crisis. A large number of members of the highest leadership have lost their standing because of bureaucratism and alienation from the membership and the people, and an opportunistic attitude toward the counterrevolution in Kosovo and toward unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. As a consequence, mutual conflicts, divisions, and confrontations are increasingly deepening and worsening; all this is being transferred into the situation in society and the country as a whole.

It would be essential at an extraordinary LCY congress to achieve unity in regard to reforming orientations for a way out of the crisis and to choosing a new LCY leadership which will be able to fight for unity in action and a turnaround in the implementation of reform, and which will have the authority to do so.

Reform of the economy according to the criteria and laws of the market cannot be carried through under conditions where any or anybody's ideological or political monopoly exists in society. This is the starting point and basis for the urgent transformation of the LC, which should be open to all socialist self-managing democratic initiatives. An extraordinary congress must also answer the question: What should be changed in the method and action of the LC in order to rid it of the restraints and blockages of a state party, but also to rid the state of its ideological and political monopoly? Because of all this, it is necessary to take a very concrete and clear stand concerning political pluralism and what it could mean for the LC, above all for its ideopolitical unity and unity in action and for the realization of its role under the new conditions.

All these questions of reform of the political system and the LC should be the main theme of an extraordinary congress of the LCY, which must be extraordinary despite some different views. This is supported by everything that has been happening since the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference, which demonstrates that the demands of the most senior meeting of Vojvodina Communists are justified.

Vojvodina SAWP Voices Concern on Milk Price

AU2203081589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Vojvodina is demanding that the federal government urgently reexamine the decision on the basic of which the protected price of milk is set. According to the assessment of the Presidium, the protected price of milk should be coordinated with inflationary trends, and the state and not the producers should be concerned with social welfare.

It was warned that milk producers on private and social farms are seriously concerned about the low purchase price. As a sign of protest, some of the producers have stopped deliveries and have even poured milk away. Therefore, in the view of the Vojvodina SAWP Presidium, certain measures should be taken so that greater shifts in the supply to the market of this essential foodstuff do not arise.

Serbia's Jovic on 'Greater Albania' Concept

LD1603055689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0150 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Kopaonik, March 15 (TANJUG)—Albanian separatists are doing everything to separate the Autonomous Province of Kosovo from Yugoslavia and thus create "greater Albania" but the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, will not allow this, president of the Assembly of Serbia Borisav Jovic said on Wednesday.

Serbia has the right to fight for this part of its territory because Kosovo is the cradle of its history and culture, but a large part of its population has been driven out of the province by the terror of Albanian chauvinists and separatists, Jovic told a press conference for foreign journalists held on Mount Kopaonik, southern Yugoslavia.

It is difficult to forcast exactly how long will the special measures be in effect in Kosovo, said Jovic. He recalled that the measures had been imposed by the Yugoslav state Presidency in order to normalize the situation in the province and enable the work of institutions of the system following last months eight-day strikes and demonstrations by ethnic Albanians.

Jovic said he personally believes that the measures must remain in force until the situation in Kosovo has been normalized.

Asked whether the changes in Serbia's Constitution, if adopted in conditions of the special measures in Kosovo, could be of lasting value, Jovic replied that the changes were evolving in a normal atmosphere and there was no reason to doubt the democratic nature and normal procedure in their adoption.

All Yugoslav republics and provinces acknowledge that Serbia—which, besides Kosovo, also includes the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina—should have jurisdiction over its entire territory, which at the same time would not threaten the autonomy of the provinces, the Serbian Assembly president stressed.

Serbia wants exclusively to have an equal position as the other republics, because it has been divided into three parts by present constitutional solutions, said Jovic.

Spokesman Discusses Albanian 'Interference'

LD1603202189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—The meeting of the Balkan countries economic ministers in Ankara is fruitful and in the interests of all and therefore the Albanian minister's speech, which was not in keeping with the need to maintain and develop the spirit of confidence, respect and cooperation in the Balkans, comes as even more of a surprise, Yugoslav government press spokesman Ivo Vajgl said at a regular press conference in Belgrade on Thursday.

Vajgl recalled that all the Balkan countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia) had committed themselves to the spirit of confidence, respect and cooperation at the Balkan countries' foreign ministerial meeting in Belgrade in February last year precisely in order to overcome the negative accumulation of the past.

Commenting on the writing of Saudia Arabia's daily THE SAUDI GAZETTE on the alleged threat to Moslem Albanians in Yugoslavia, Vajgl said he did not consider the text serious reason for a debate on religious and other freedoms enjoyed by Albanians and all other nations and nationalities in Yugosalvia, irrespective of whether they are believers or atheists.

Yugoslavia has very reliable criteria where interference in its internal affairs is concerned and will apply them regardless of from whom the initiatives aimed at "testing" it are coming from and with what motives, Vajgl underlined.

Commentary Examines Yugoslav-Albanian Relations

LD1503215189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Just as we thought that there were signs of certain positive shifts in Yugoslav-Albanian relations, the latest events in and around Kosovo have again reminded us that the leopard cannot change his spots. There is firm evidence that even when it tries to give verbal assurances about its noninterference in our internal affairs, Tirana has not, in fact, given up its dream of a greater Albania, and that it has never stopped interfering in our internal

affairs. We, of course, cannot and should not blame Albania alone or even Albanian extremists abroad or separatist forces in Kosovo for all that has happened in Kosovo. We, ourselves, have made many mistakes and have failed to implement correct moves which would convince the Albanian masses in Kosovo of the absurdity of all that is being offered by Albanian separatists, who have been more successful than us in presenting programs convincingly. What we lacked above all was a well-defined political action and—and this is a more serious problem—we never tried to join forces to find a common key to resolve the problem of Kosovo.

In any case, the very fact that we had to resort to emergency measures is an indication of a failed policy. It is no longer an issue whether the measures were necessary or not. What we must find out is why the policy which preceded them failed. First, it is not true that all Albanians in Kosovo are separatist and that they do not consider Yugoslavia to be their homeland. Neither is it true that Yugoslavia and Serbia have done all they could for Kosovo, but that the Albanians in Kosovo simply refuse to accept it, since all they are doing is dreaming of a greater Albania. On the other hand, if some of the Albanian population in Kosovo is inclined to dream about greater Albania, we and no one else must find out why it is so. True, in many ways we have been naive, but this is no excuse since, we should have known that the problem of Kosovo could not be resolved by punishment, especially in view of the fact that the Albanians in Kosovo see some of the recent actions and moves as a rule by dictate. This type of rule was employed before, and there is evidence of it now. It is therefore not surprising that the separatists have been more successful in manipulating the Albanian masses than the LC has been in trying to prove that our obligations to Kosovo have been met by the very fact that the entire community has been allocating enormous resources to help its economic development. These resources could be increased even more, but the situation would not change.

The activity concerning the changes in the Serbian Socialist Republic Constitution did not proceed as it should have for the simple reason that the changes had not been properly explained to the people of Kosovo. What has just been said will exempt neither the Communists in Kosovo nor the entire Albanian community from the responsibility for the difficult position in which the Serbs and Montenegrins have found themselves in Kosovo. Here, it must be admitted, many of the Albanians have failed the test. However, if the problems of Kosovo are to be simplified in this way—in other words, if we fail to identify all the causes of the present situation—then, even if the prisons become overcrowded with young Albanians, the Kosovo drama will not go away. Once the Albanians begin to feel that they are not second-class citizens, that they are not viewed simply as lodgers in their own homeland, their mistrust of non-Albanians will disappear. This, however, cannot be achieved through decrees or emergency measures, but exclusively through democratic methods, cooperation on an equal footing, and the full respect for the identity of the Albanian nationality. Their autonomy must be respected, not only on paper, but in reality as well.

In any case, before the 1974 Constitution, the problem of Kosovo existed and could not be resolved despite all the powers that Serbia exercised over its entire territory.

All this, however, does not mean that we should ignore the poisonous arrows of Albania's propaganda and its influence on development in Kosovo; on the contrary. However, it should be emphasized again that the sole and correct solution to the crisis in Kosovo is thorugh genuine democracy and a common struggle in which we shall all take part, including the Communists in Kosovo, and which will be designed to eliminate all which makes hatred and persecution more acceptable than coexistence with other nations and nationalities.

Slovene Candidates for Presidency Selected

AU1403163589 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] The list of the candidates from Slovenia for the SFRY Presidency—the elected member will at the same time become president of the SFRY Presidency for 1 year—has been reduced to two candidates in all. They are Marko Bulc and Janez Drnovsek. At the republican nomination conference today, the former received 20 more votes than the latter, and both at least twice as many as the third candidate, Gojko Stanic.

As is known, the citizens will now have their say. They will give their support to one of them at direct elections on 2 April.

Document on Slovenian LC Renewal Debated

LD1603060189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0100 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, March 16 (TANJUG)—A draft document on the renewal of the League of Communists of Slovenia, just placed on public debate, is aimed to respond to the challenges of today and the crisis of socialist ideas, and to offer a vision of modern non-dogmatic socialism with a higher quality of life for all, secretary of the Slovenian party Central Committee Presidency Milos Prosenc told TANJUG on Wednesday.

The draft stresses that involved here is an end of "socialist" and all other fundamentalisms and "eternal truths."

It asserts political pluralism instead of one-party rule, and says that the individual and the public are being relieved of the one-only and binding world philosophies. A policy of living together, with a variety of differences, is being offered instead of one of conflictless society.

The social situation requires a League of Communists which will develop activities together with people and not a party which will act instead of them, said Prosenc.

We need a League of Communists capable of activating individuals and articulating their political initiatives, one which will provide democratic room for initiative and for confrontation of ideas, he added.

In his view, the renewal of the League of Communists is not only important to the party—it is also a prerequisite for other changes in society.

The draft document on the renewal of the League of Communists of Slovenia strives for the freedom of political association, free, direct and secret elections with several candidates for one office and different programs.

The draft deals especially with the "freedom of the individual as a precondition for the freedom of all."

Prosenc believes that the League of Communists must be transformed into a democratic organization which will participate in political life without monopoly.

The document therefore says that a change in the League of Communists position in the system is required for a reform of the League of Communists. The new constitution should abolish the remaining elements of its monopolistic position.

It is therefore necessary to transform the League of Communists into an organization which will have an ear for changes in its "social base" and which will be prepared to include in its activities those sections of society, who are the most active proponents and executors of reform objectives.

This should strengthen the role of legal and legitimate institutions of the system, the legal state and self-management as a comprehensive social relationship. It should expand the scope of man's freedom, respect and recognition of the individual and observance of the sovereignty of nations and nationalities.

Prosenc saw these endeavours of the League of Communists of Slovenia as reflecting a wish for the development of the country's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance, its plurality and capacity for democratic synthesis, together with other organizations, alliances and individuals.

Union Federation Discusses Slovenia, Croatia

LD1603103489 Belgrade TANJUG Dommestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—It is a fact that we now find ourselves in a situation in which there is more discord regarding such an important question as that of the lives of 1,300 miners than there is unity; there are more elements of federalism than of alliance, said Marjan Orozen in his introductory report at today's session of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation (SSJ), at which the situation in Kosovo and the country was examined. The immediate cause for convening the session were disparate views of trade union organizations concerning events in the Stari Trg mine.

Speaking on the subject, Marjan Orozen stressed that we must overcome emotional reactions and prepare a sober analysis that would take into account all the basic facts as well as the place and responsibility of everyone in the trade union from the Stari Trg basic organization to the SSJ Council Presidium. Orozen also noted that one should not attribute to oneself greater responsibility than that of individuals who talked the miners of Stari Trg into such a suicidal act. History is aware of various forms of political struggle for the parliament, illegal activities, an uprisings, but is not aware, at least in our Yugoslav history, of such barbaric methods of sacrificing people. For this reason, the ideological and organizational leaders of such an undertaking, stressed Orozen, not only bear a large moral responsibility, but also a criminal one for endangering the lives of 1,300 people. Calling for the unity of the organization, Orozen invited the trade union membership to join forces and establish a united workers' and class front in the struggle for the stabilization of the political and security situation, the overcoming of intranational divisions and intolerance, the halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montengrins from Kosovo, and the speedier normalization of life and work in the province and the country. [passage omitted]

Rakocevic demanded that the SSJ Council express its views about the stances of the trade union organizations of Slovenia and Croatia. He criticized them for voicing their—as he said—humane concern for the miners when they have shown no concern during 8 years of suffering by Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Milorad Colic stressed that Croatia was taken in by the tricks of irredenta when it gave the support to the strikers in Kosovo. According to him, the support caused divisions in this republic, which until this event was the most stable republic in that respect. He proposed, inter alia, that the process of differentiation and establishing responsibility be started in the SSJ Council and that a working group be formed for examining the situation in the SSJ Council, because, according to him, the council is unable to work due to the existing differences in assessments. He also proposed that the Yugoslav working class be called to restrain itself from all protest gatherings so that the already complex situation in the country is not complicated further. [passage omitted]

At today's session of the SSJ Council, at the request of the Montenegrin trade unions, Milo Djurovic was relieved from his duties in the SSJ Council and in the SSJ Council Presidium. Danilo Popovic was elected as a new member of the SSJ Council from Montenegro. [passage omitted]

Zvonimir Hrabar proposed—which was accepted in the end—that the trade unions distance themselves and condemn energetically, as he put it, the notorious MLADINA map on the retailoring of Yugoslavia.

Concluding the discussion, Marjan Orozen said that on the basis of the debate, trade unions' stances on Kosovo will be implemented later. The session agreed that an analysis specifying who has done what on the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo be made.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Criticizes Milosevic

AU1603194089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 89 p 6

[Speech by Fuad Muhic, member of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists, at the 26th session of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists, held on 28 February; place not given: "Creatively Toward Equilibrium"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

The Same Treatment for Everyone

In the stand of the fourth extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], it is stressed that all legal measures should be taken against all organizers and proponents of the behind-the-scenes policy in Kosovo who have used pressure and even the exploitation of the lives and health of the Stari Trg miners in order to achieve their aims against the policy of the League of Communists [LC] and the SFRY. I think that we are all obliged to support this stand.

However, we must expand this into an even wider context, because the concept of a behind-the-scenes policy is not in the least connected with Kosovo, but has been present for more than 1 year in the much wider atmosphere of so-called populism: the populist methodology and all those methodologies with regard to which we have not quite decided whether they belong to the sphere of voluntarism or the sphere of historical legitimacy. I would like to say something about that later. For now, I would like to stress that from this point of view, we must treat all the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia equally.

There is no difference between meetings and demonstrations, there is no difference between those forms of gatherings which can be considered in advance as positive and those forms of gatherings at which undesirable political critics ominously appear.

In this sense, I think that all our peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia are equal, and that if this already represents the decisive problem, we are forced to accept that we must treat the will of peoples and nationalities equally, and from this viewpoint eliminate the bone of contention that has led to these events in Kosovo.

I do not believe in the theory that there are peoples in our country who express their own authentic interests and who are therefore political subjects, and that there are duped peoples, as is claimed about the Albanians in Kosovo and their working class. I do not believe in advance in the theory about duped peoples. These people are not outside historical categories; they have the right to openly express their will, unfortunately in the context of meetings or other methods which are used by other peoples and nationalities.

The LCY—but also the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina—has today found itself facing new trials, facing pressure that is being exerted for us to decide on either the so-called populist socialism or the so-called pluralist socialism.

Neither the Populist...

Populist and pluralistic types of socialism have shown themselves to be incomplete in theory and contradictory in practice. Their ideological supporters have in many respects contributed to this situation. It is as if they care more about stressing differences as much as possible than about a rational Yugoslav synthesis. The corresponding consequences have not been lacking. National homogenizations and geopolitical separations have already taken place around both of these complexes. It has virtually become normal for populism, as a genetic historical predisposition, to be linked with the peoples and nationalities in Serbia, Montenegro, Vojvodina, and Kosovo, and for pluralism to be linked with the peoples of Croatia and Slovenia. Far-reaching conclusions have been drawn from this about the so-called East and West, about the so-called Balkan and European socialism in the SFRY, with ominous hints that the Communists in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia will not be able to remain above one or the other of these concepts for long. The appropriate methods of indoctrination, which, within all this, have only managed to prolong the already existing divisions, are not missing. Objective observers have not failed to see that intolerance between certain republican and provincial leagues within the LCY has become greater than the mutual intolerance between the left and right parties in Western multiparty systems. There is an even more striking recognition that there is greater understanding and silent support in some of these parts between Communists and nationalists than can be perceived between the Communists of different leagues. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Slobodan Milosevic's Threat

In this context (of a Yugoslav synthesis of joint interests—editorial note), all those unprincipled attacks on the LCY leadership will be deprived of a realistic meaning if that leadership does not work according to the

demands and views of a certain part, just as this leadership will be forced into much closer links with all parts of the LCY. We will not be able to accept blackmail which relates to the replacement of those leaderships which at any given moment are not desired by a certain populist mass, regardless of the fact that these resignations can be treated as a moral act. However, it is difficult to accept last night's threat by Slobodan Milosevic that the problem which we are discussing will be solved by arrests, as he said, "I guarantee these arrests."

In the history of socialism since Stalin, few party chiefs have threatened arrests. An arrest is an act which belongs to the competent organs and the state, and this is a problem of a legal state.

Therefore, if we want to establish equilibrium in the context of this subject, we must bear in mind all those moments which philosophers have called moments of one creative historical intervention.

Bosnia-Hercegovina To Mark Humo's Birthday

LD1403234389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Summary] Mostar, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—A series of celebrations will be held in the organization of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and the Mostar LC Municipal Committee this year to mark the 75th birth anniversary of Avdo Humo, eminent Yugoslav revolutionary and one of the organizers of the uprising in Bosnia-Hercegovina during World War II.

The marking of Humo's jubilee in Mostar represents a unique rehabilitation of this Yugoslav revolutionary, who was expelled from party life in 1972 and subjected to severe party sanctions together with Osman Karabegovic, Hajro Kapetanovic, and Cedo Kapor by the decision of the then Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee. Though there has not yet been an official rehabilitation, time and subsequent events hs shown that the decision made at the time by the Bosnia-Hercegovina party leadership has not been justified."

Army Special Unit Holds Combat Exercises

LD1503214589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Today members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] Special Unit practiced various combat actions and conduct envisaged by the educational program. The exercise was held near Pristina within regular work activities and in accordance with the special measures introduced in Kosovo by the order of the SFRY Presidency.

Unity, the highest degree of training, physical preparedness, courage and high morale are characteristics of the members of this unit, Momcilo Jovanovic, its officer, said.

The YPA Special Unit's members are trained to handle the latest combat technology and equipment. The task of members of special units of our Army is to act rapidly, skillfully, and energetically, and to achieve a high level of combat-effectiveness with a small amount of force.

Letter on 'Revived' Croatian Movement Published

AU1503102389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 89 p 4

["Open Letter" from Milan Rakas to Dr Franjo Tudjman and his followers: "A Relapse of the 'Mass Movement' Will Not Succeed"]

[Text] The prominent leaders of the notorious "mass Croatian movement" of 1971 have been reborn in the founding of new political organizations on the political scene of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Croatia. The main initiators of the setting up of new political organizations in our republic include members of the leading echelon of the "mass movement," Franjo Tudjman and Vlado Gotovac. Zvonko Cicak, the notorious storm trooper of the "mass movement" among students at Zagreb University in 1971, has also appeared.

According to the renovated platform of the "mass Croatian movement," which Tudjman impudently, loudly, and openly "threw" into the eyes and face of the public, this is the greatest rebirth of the leaders of the "mass movement" since they were sent to prison. As is well known, they found themselves in prison and stayed there for quite a long time because of hostile activities from the position of the platforms of the "mass movement" in Croatia.

A Change of Tactics

Tudjman openly demanded the full rehabilitation of the "mass movement" and its reintroduction into the political scene. All his other demands contain all of the worst ideas of the "mass movement," which brought us to the brink of civil war in 1971, not only in Croatia, but throughout all of Yugoslavia. It is only because of their disgusting and malicious nature that I do not want to repeat on this occasion the current programmatic declarations of the proponent of the "mass Croatian movement" (about which our newspapers have already written in recent days).

One should not doubt that all of this hostile and dirty expansionism by Tudjman and his followers will quickly and effectively receive the right answer from the political and state leaderships of the SR of Croatia. On the contrary, this reply will probably be even more vehement than the one the masters of the "mass movement" received after the historic 21st session of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Presidium, at which, under the chairmanship of Tito, the decision on an open settling of accounts with the nationalist phalanx of the "mass movement" failed, and a stand on the resolute and swift elimination of the consequences of its

activities was taken. It is understandable that the settling of accounts must be even more vociferous, because this is a question of a relapse in the hostile activity of the proponents of the "mass movement." It is well known that the most effective medicine must be taken to guard against relapses. Mercilessness against the "intrigues" of Tudjman and his followers is particularly necessary because of the time and place in which the relapse of their "mass movement" activity is taking place.

The vampires of the "mass movement" have exploited the process of broad democratization in the political life of the SR of Croatia. Their claims that they, with their new political organizations, will act within the Socialist Alliance on the condition that, as they put it, the leading role of the LCY in the SAWPY [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia] be scrapped immediately, are transparent. It should be openly said that this is only a change of tactics in relation to their hostile activity of 1971.... At that time, I remember they forced clericalists and members of the "mass movement" into the LC [League of Communists] en masse in order to destroy it from within. It is clear from today's programmatic declarations by Tudjman that he is announcing the destruction of everything that in the least smells like a Yugoslav socialist orientation in the SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People]. Because of all this, a resolute and uncompromising reply from the political and state organs of the SR of Croatia during our present national and frequently nationalist divisions will have an inestimable significance.

The special significance of such resolute stands of the political organs of the SR of Croatia is in the fact that past bitter experience teaches us that only the energetic delineation of Croatian nationalism can prevent the revival and spread of Serbian nationalism in the SR of Croatia, which came onto the scene in 1971, most often and primarily as a consequence of Croatian nationalism having run riot. In this observation, we do not for one moment underestimate the influence of the flow and thrust of Serbian nationalism outside the SR of Croatia as well. However, experience also teaches us that the joint life of Croats and Serbs in Croatia was always resistant to all thrusts of nationalism outside this republic when a consistent and unhesitant battle was being fought against all nationalist phenomena. One should never forget in all this the lessons of 1971 which point to particular sensitivity and awareness regarding the development of nationalism in the majority Croatian nation.

Lists for Liquidation

It is obvious that during the awakening of nationalism, all political progressive forces in the SR of Croatia must daily have at the focal point of their activity the topicality and complexity of interethnic relations because some of the latest events in this Republic are already smelling a little bit like certain occurrences of national territorial division. It is well known that any possible heightening of national division creates the possibility and chance for both Serbian and Croatian nationalism to interfere in the fate of the lives of the Serbian and Croatian peoples in the SR of Croatia. History confirms that the fate of both the Serbian and Croatian peoples has always been tragic whenever it has been decided on by nationalists.

Not for one moment doubting the efficiency of state and party organs in the SR of Croatia in settling accounts with every nationalist tendency and even with the latest revived proponents of the "mass movement," the writer of these lines does not intend them to be for these organs. This is above all an open and public message to the vampires of the "mass movement."

Mr Tudjman, you do not need to nurture illusions with your followers! The broad democratization of relations in the SR of Croatia will not and should not be a chance for your nationalist activity. Your wish for the LCY not to normatively have its leading role in the SAWPY could be fulfilled. However, the real role of the LCY in the SAWP will not depend on Tudjman and the "Tudjmanists" or on some kind of norms, but on the well-argued political action of members of the LCY in the SAWP. Another thing you should know, Mr Tudjman: There are still many Croats and Serbs still alive who have firsthand experience of, to put it mildly, all mistreatment by members of the "mass movement."

Some of us remember well that blacklists even existed in the "mass movement" with the names of those people intended for liquidation. Both Croats and Serbs who fought in the difficult days of 1971 against the insanity of the "mass movement," but also against any attempts at revanchism by Serbian nationalism, which appeared as a consequence of this insanity, have passed on to their children something from all this bitter experience. Therefore, when even newly formed political organizations adorn themselves with Tudjman's foolish ideas and manage to "smuggle" these ideas into the SAWP, they will not fall on fertile ground there. On the contrary, Tudjman, as one of those who survived all the horrors of your "mass movement," fighting with its proponents, I can say to you with certainty that we will use all our political activity in the SAWP itself to return all your renewed fratricidal nationalist ideas and your evil spirit to the "bottle" they came out of. We will once again send all your fascist dreams about which you have recently publicly spoken, to the historic garbage dump where they and you belong.

Therefore, Dr Tudjman, you must lose the battle that you militantly declared with your followers for the realization of your sinister ideas before you begin it. This is because it is probably clear to you, judging by the first reactions, that you have against you all the progressive forces of a socialist self-managing Yugoslavia and not just of the SR of Croatia. These forces, and this must also be clear to you if you are not politically blind, are made up of the vast majority of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. It cannot even be any different, as we all remember well the bloody consequences of every revival

of nationalism anywhere on our territory. The wounds of Kosovo are particularly fresh, wounds which are the consequence of Albanian nationalists having run wild. These open wounds are a painful reminder that we should not allow such people as the "Tudjmanists" to Kosovize one single part of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community.

74 AIDS Cases Reported Since 1985, 35 Deaths

LD1603145589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1008 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—A total of 74 cases of AIDS (the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) have been recorded in Yugoslavia since September 1985, when the files have been opened. Thirty-five patients have meanwhile died, says a report on the spreading of AIDS, adopted by the federal parliament.

The report warns about the rapid increase of the number of diseased since the beginning of this year—nine new cases were reported in January and February—although Yugoslavia, with three AIDS cases per one million inhabitants is near the botton of European and world lists.

For example, the United States has 355 AIDS cases per one million inhabitants, Italy—53, and Austria 28.

Government Rules Against Religious Holidays

LD1603144489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0926 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's federal government has stated that religious holidays cannot be proclaimed public holidays in Yugoslavia's republics.

In an answer to a question posed by a delegate of the federal parliament, the government stressed that under the Yugoslav Constitution, professing a faith is the free and private affair of an individual, and that activities of religious communities are separate from the state.

The government further said in its answer that proclaiming religious holidays for public holidays would bring into unequal positions the members of different confessions on the territory of one republic and would also impose on atheists the obligation of marking the holiday.

Initiatives have been made in Yugoslavia over the past few months that certain religious holidays (primarily Christmas) be proclaimed republic holidays.

Most of the demands came from Slovenia, where November 1 (All Saints' Day) has been proclaimed a public holiday devoted to all the victims of World War Two.

BORBA Comments on 'Impotence' of State

AU1603095989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Mar 89 p 1

[Slavko Curuvija commentary: "A Thorny Crucifixion"]

[Text] There can no longer be any doubt that the Yugoslav political leadership has become some kind of prisoner of everything that is happening in the country, even though its position in all this is anything but a position of innocence.

In front of its very eyes, an inflation rate of 350 percent is eating away at everything that man's work creates and is making it increasingly futile. In its presence, eruptions of interethnic hatred have been taking place which no longer even shame its perpetrators. It is witnessing a situation in which options prevail, which because of their intellectual inferiority have never been able to step outside the biological concepts of society, and in which the provincial mind ends up in the dogma of the nation, after having wandered from one negation to another.

To make matters even more dramatic, the Yugoslav state leadership is, to judge by everything, becoming an eyewitness to the destructive affect of the historically well-known, notorious "principle of polarization," which, once it has begun to have an effect, always brutally and persistently pushes some to the right and further to the right, as far as fascism, and some to the left, and others even "further to the left," as far as Stalinism.

At the federal head itself, today only the SFRY Presidency is holding out in a more or less encouraging way. This is confirmed by the fact that it also has to "cover" part of the "front" which is under the jurisdiction of the divided and blocked Yugoslav party leadership. However, it seems that even with the first step in the basically encouraging implementation of its state authority and "national will," it has found itself nailed to the cross of belligerent political logics regarding the "special measures" in Kosovo and the "temporary measures" in the SFRY Assembly, and when it comes forward with peaceful appeals to some breathless and belligerent national elites....

What has happened?

Some people give the SFRY Presidency "loud applause"; these include those who are ashamed of militancy. Others uncomfortably inquire why its first more significant public state act had to in fact be a "demonstration of force," and whether this is not actually a sign of the state's complete inability and not its ability. The third group of people tell it that interethnic conflicts cannot be resolved by "wandering in a ravine of cliched appeals." All this is from the position of distanced righteous people with clean hands....

An increasing number of political analysts have recently been resignedly asking themselves what any individual level of authority, even if it is a constituent part of the federal leadership, can do in a quarrelsome and hysterical situation. What indeed, if all the others take too little account of avoiding not only the fury of its greatly spiritually, morally, and materially impoverished citizens, but also the historical hail cloud which has already hung over both the ordinary people and those that lead them because of everything that is happening in the country.

The federal party will certainly not help them for some time to come. We have created a "party-state" and not a "legal state," which as a rule ceases to function when and to the extent the party is blocked and impotent. At the federal level, the party is in an obvious "equilibrium of impotence," blocked by ideological and political divisions within itself so that the Yugoslav state, which is obviously used to functioning through the party, has suddenly found itself on clearly shaky political ground, on which it now seems that the SFRY Presidency must pull the chestnuts out of the fire. And this from a fire which is still being zealously—although by each side separately—and successfully stoked by powerful and homogeneous national state-party leaderships.

The application of the classic means of state force to calm down national passions, the introduction of "extraordinary," "special," or "temporary" measures, making soldiers into media stars and the ubiquitous sole protectors of threatened sovereignty...was, it is true, necessary once, as it is now in Kosovo. However, taken in the long term, this is no solution to our circumstances and promises. This is not only because nonpolitical means cannot essentially change anything. The latest moves "hold water" where the policy that we have could not, but they also serve as fuel for all our separatisms in their destruction of Yugoslavia.

History has, however, managed to solve some of our problems, and with clearly peaceful means. Some developed countries have not exactly succeeded in "suppressing" their nationalisms; however, it has obviously been to their advantage to marginalize them. They have done this by eliminating the national criterion as the main and dominant criterion and putting some other options into play—options which mean life. For example, entrepreneurship and profit! Such societies are now almost totally indifferent when their cantonal leaders quarrel on the political scene.

Not even the Yugoslav state leadership will be able to continue by itself, and it will find it difficult to successfully use the previous methods to marginalize the forming of national columns, trumpets, guslas [traditional musical instrument], and flags, especially within the present concept of statist socialism.

The Constitution has been partially changed, some obstacles to foreign investment have been eliminated, talks on approaching the European Economic Community have begun, and hopes and ambitions have been awakened.... Therefore, the question arises: Why have people stopped talking about all this? Why do we allow a stampede of politization to overrun the loudly greeted concept of Ante Markovic's "new type of socialism"?

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